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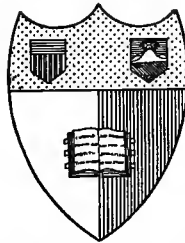
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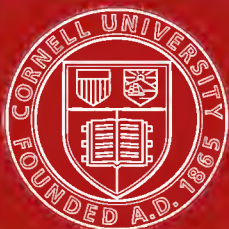
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MEMOIRS
OF
COL. WILLIAM EDWARDS.

FORMERLY OF
STOCKBRIDGE AND NORTHAMPTON, MASS.,
LATER OF HUNTER, GREENE CO., N. Y.,
AND OF BROOKLYN, N. Y.

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF, IN HIS 76TH YEAR, 1847, WITH NOTES
AND ADDITIONS BY HIS SON, WILLIAM W. EDWARDS, AND
BY HIS GRANDSON, WILLIAM HENRY EDWARDS.

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INTRODUCTORY.

One evening during the winter of 1846-7, after hearing my grandfather, William Edwards, then of Brooklyn, relate some of his early recollections, I urged him to employ his mornings in writing out what he could remember of his active life, assuring him that it would interest his grand-children and those who came after them. In a few days I learned that he had taken kindly to the proposition, and was engaged in writing. Some months afterwards, he handed me the manuscript. On reading it, I found that little had been said of his brothers and sisters, as well as of the generation preceding his own, and I returned the papers to him that he might add something concerning his relatives. I was out of the city and the country the larger part of the next four years,

and heard no more of the matter. At his death, in 1851, the manuscript was found in his desk, with no additions. It was read by my father, William W. Edwards, about 1855, and he was moved to add to it his own recollections of his father, and the life at Northampton and Hunter. The booklet is printed for the descendants of William Edwards, in the first place, but also for the descendants of Timothy and Rhoda Ogden, his parents, of whom it says much. I originally intended to append a list of William Edwards' descendants, and such an one was prepared. But later, it seemed best to begin with Timothy, particularly as there is in existence (as in the Tuttle and the Stoddard genealogies) no even tolerably complete record of the descendants of Timothy's sons and daughters. What there is, is really worse than nothing. I hope that, within the next year, I may have this list ready for publication.

WM. H. EDWARDS.

COALBURGH, W. VA.

October 1, 1897.

WILLIAM EDWARDS

1770-1851

WASHINGTON, D. C.

1897

PRESS OF W. F. ROBERTS
WASHINGTON, D. C.



BROOKLYN, FEB'Y 8, 1847.

I have been solicited by some of my family to leave a record of the prominent occurrences of my life (their reasons assigned for my doing it that it would be both useful and gratifying to my Posterity), particularly as I have passed through scenes of deepest interest to our country—the Revolution, and the adoption of the existing Constitution—and have witnessed the happy effects of these measures in producing a prosperity to our Nation that is unexampled.

I was born in Elizabethtown, in New Jersey, on the 11th day of November, 1770. My father was Timothy Edwards, the first son and the sixth child of President Jonathan Edwards. He was born in Northampton, Mass., in July, 1738; was educated at Nassau Hall College; married Miss Rhoda Ogden in September, 1760, and settled in

Elizabethtown, N. J., where they had six children born, viz: Sarah, Edward, Jonathan, Richard, Phebe, and William. After residing ten years in Elizabethtown, they removed to Stockbridge, in Mass., June, 1771. At Stockbridge, they had nine children, viz: Robert Ogden (died young), Timothy, Mary Ogden (died young), Rhoda, Elizabeth, Mary, Anna, Robert Burr, and one other that died very young.

My mother was the daughter of Robert Ogden, Esq., of Elizabethtown, whose ancestors were of the first settlers of that place, and were emigrants from England.

[ANCESTRY OF RHODA OGDEN, WIFE OF TIMOTHY EDWARDS.]

1. JOHN OGDEN, an influential man in the Colonial history of New Jersey, as early as 1641; he emigrated from England. (See Hatfield's History of Elizabeth, N. J.) He died 1681. He married Jane Bond, and with other children, had
2. JONATHAN, born 1646; died 1732. He married Rebecca — and with other children, had
3. ROBERT 1st; who was born —; died in 1733; married for his first wife Hannah Crane, of Newark, N. J. They had six children, of whom was
4. ROBERT 2nd; born October 7, 1716; died January 21, 1789. He married Phebe Hatfield, who was

born November 25, 1720, and died December 22, 1796. December 24, 1751, he was Recorder of the Borough of Elizabethtown, and the same year was elected to the 18th Provincial Assembly. In 1755, he was elected to the 20th Assembly, serving as Speaker until he resigned, in 1765.

On January 27, 1853, Governor Belcher appointed him a Surrogate, and August 14th, same year, "one of our clerks in Chancery."

From 1757, through the French war, and until 1773, his papers show that he was Commissary and Barrack Master for the King's troops. On August 3, 1761, he was commissioned Justice and Judge—he had been a Justice of the Quorum since 1755. December 24, 1761, "Robert Ogden, gentleman," was commissioned Clerk of the Court of Essex County; and March 22, 1762, he was Commissioned by Governor Hardy one of the Surrogates of the Orphans' Court of the Province of East New Jersey. In 1763, and 1766, as Ruling Elder, he attended the Synod of New York and New Jersey. When the Stamp Act was passed, and the people of all the Colonies rose in angry resistance to its operations, Robert Ogden was speaker of the Assembly. On August 24, 1764, he wrote Cortland Skinner, Attorney-General of the Province, and a fellow member of the Legislature, inclosing a copy of the communication sent out by the Committee of the Massachusetts Representatives, for his perusal and advice. He says: "The affair is serious and greatly concerns all the Colonies to unite and exert themselves to the utmost to keep off the threatening blow of imposing taxes, duties, etc., so destructive to the liber-

ties the Colonies hitherto enjoyed." "At a meeting of a large number of representatives of the Colony of New Jersey, October 3, 1765, Robert Ogden, Hendrick Fisher, and Joseph Borden, Esquires, were directed to attend the Congress now met at New York, and join the measures there to be concluded."

The first Congress of the American Colonies met at New York, October 7th, 1765, the three delegates from New Jersey being present. When the battle of Lexington occurred, and Committees of observation and correspondence were formed, Robert Ogden was a member of the Committee from Elizabethtown.

In 1776, he was Chairman of the Elizabethtown Committee of Safety. His son, Matthias, was Colonel of the 1st New Jersey Regiment; his sons-in-law, Col. Oliver Spencer and Major Francis Barber, and his son, Aaron Ogden, were officers in other New Jersey regiments.

Robert Ogden removed to Ogdensburg, in Northern New Jersey, where he owned large tracts of land, in 1777. His wife called the place Sparta, the record says. There he died, January 21, 1787, and was buried, "a little in rear of the meeting house." His wife was buried beside him. On his tombstone is inscribed: "In public life both in Church and State he filled many offices with ability and integrity. In his private business he was upright, eminently useful, active, and diligent. He was temperate and humane. A friend to the poor, hospitable and generous. A most faithful, tender and indulgent husband and parent, and above all, his life and conversation from his youth

was becoming a professor of religion and a follower of the blessed Jesus."

Robert and Phoebe Ogden had twenty-two-children, of whom Rhoda was the third.

(These particulars concerning Robert Ogden 2nd, are taken from the book entitled the "Descendants of Robert Ogden 2nd, 1716-1787. By Edmund Drake Halsey," of Morristown, N. J.]

Grandfather was for many years a deacon of the Presbyterian Church in Elizabethtown—extensively engaged in business, both public and private—was the King's Surveyor, also the King's Commissary. He was largely engaged in farming, also in tanning. His house was the home of all clergymen of the Presbyterian denomination who visited or passed through the town. On my Father's marriage, he settled in Elizabethtown, upon the solicitation of Grandfather Ogden; had a small sloop, in connection with a store, and got a comfortable support for his family. But my mother lost her health. The situation of Elizabethtown was low—surrounded by a salt marsh, particularly the part of the town where my father resided. The state of my mother's health led my father to remove from Elizabethtown to Stockbridge, where he engaged largely in trade for that period.

Berkshire County was then sparsely inhabited. There was scarcely a store in the County except my father's. He was very prosperous in his business ; his stock of goods was large. The newly cleared lands in that fertile region produced abundance of excellent wheat, which he remitted to New York with as much profit as he made upon the goods sold. His business prosperity enabled him to purchase a farm of several hundred acres, on which he built a dwelling house, barn, etc., for the comfortable accommodation of his family, in 1772. During the business season his building and farming operations required the aid of from 40 to 50 laborers. The expense of these was fully met by the profit of the store for the period (say six months) he thus employed them. His prosperity was uninterrupted until the commencement of the Revolution, when all commerce and all business connected with it was suspended, and the energies and resources of those who loved their country, and held dear the liberties of their descendants, were absorbed in the unequal contest which Britain had urged against us. She had also obtained the aid of the savages of this country, and of the barbarians of

Germany, to increase the horrors of a civil war and a domestic feud. Our whole western frontier was a scene of blood and carnage from the Indians and Tories. (The Mss. goes on to mention the massacres of Wyoming and Cherry Valley,—the murder of thousands of prisoners on the prison ship, &c.) These things taught our fathers what they must expect from the tender mercies of Great Britain if conquered. Union and patriotism were the order of the day: Personal service and cheerful sacrifice of property in the cause of Liberty were almost universal. My honored father was a Whig, in the Whig State of Massachusetts. He devoted his time from the year 1775 to 1783 almost exclusively to serving his country as a member of the State Legislature; as a commissioner, associated with General Schuyler, and the Honorable Silas Deane, to the Indians on our western border, if possible to keep them at peace with us. He also acted as a Commissary for supplying the army with provisions. In 1777, he was elected by the Legislature of Massachusetts a member of the Continental Congress, his colleagues being the Hons. John Adams and John Hancock. But the danger from Gen. Burgoyne's army overrunning the country

where himself and family resided, made it his duty to remain at home, and prevented him from taking his seat in Congress.

My father's pecuniary sacrifices to the cause of liberty absorbed nearly all his property. At the commencement of the war he was worth about twenty thousand dollars. To sustain the credit of the Continental (paper) currency was a most important object with the patriots of that day, it being the only resource to meet the expenses of the war. To aid the government in its efforts, silver and gold were exchanged for Continental money at par. My father, at one time, when the army was about to march north, to meet Gen. Burgoyne, exchanged one thousand pounds lawful money (as it was then termed), \$3,333, and received for it paper currency, dollar for dollar. Our army, under Gen. Gates, could not leave their encampments without some specie. My father also furnished the Government with fifty tons of flour delivered at Springfield, Mass., and received paper money at par in payment. Taxes were very high,—labor was dear, father's family was expensive. These things, with the sacrifices made as related, absorbed all his property, and in the year 1784, he was not worth a

dollar. He was indebted in New York over \$3,000 for goods purchased for his store in 1774. He collected the only currency of the country (Continental paper money), and went to New York for the express purpose of paying every claim upon him. His creditors were his old friends; they told him they had no use for the money, having closed their business, and begged him not to tender the (paper) money to them, as the laws of the State empowered him to do. He returned home with the paper. Having confidence in the good faith and ability of the Government, he kept a large sum of the paper money on hand. It declined rapidly, and he sold it, or received for it Massachusetts State securities, depreciated to two shillings and sixpence on the pound. He sold all his public securities soon after the close of the war, and invested the proceeds in land, in the county of Broome, New York. In adjusting the conflicting claims of Massachusetts and New York, in addition to the territory lying west of Seneca Lake, ten townships lying upon the Chenango and Susquehanna Rivers, containing 240,000 acres of land, were ceded to Massachusetts; that is, the right to the soil, the jurisdiction remaining with New York. These town-

ships were purchased by a company in Berkshire County, principally in Stockbridge and Lenox. The company paid Massachusetts one cent per acre, and paid the same sum to the Indians. This purchase saved my father from entire destitution of property, enabled him to free himself from all debts, and gave him a comfortable support for himself and family. The land rose in value from year to year; at the end of six years from purchase the average price to settlers was about three dollars per acre.

Father had given his children the best advantages of common and subscription schools that were in his power. School books could not be obtained; no books at that period were printed in the country; they were prohibited by Great Britain and none were imported. The only books we had at school during the war were Dilworth's Spelling Book and Arithmetic, and the Psalter, *i. e.* the book of Psalms.

My earliest recollections were of quite a belligerent character,—the marching of the minute men from Stockbridge to join the army at Cambridge, immediately after the first American blood had been shed at the battle of Lexington.

(The Mss. relates the massing of troops

by Great Britain, at Boston and other points, and goes on to say:) This state of affairs led to a convention or congress, which met at Salem, where arrangements were made for raising troops by enlistment. Twelve thousand men were enlisted to march at a minute's warning. They were from almost every town in the State. Of these were the men of whom I spoke a moment ago. I was then about four and one half years old. My father, Deacon Nash, and Esquire Woodbridge, were the Committee for enlisting and forwarding the quota of the minute men from Stockbridge. I well recollect, that, on a Sabbath morning, an express had arrived from Cambridge, giving notice of the battle of Lexington, and requiring the minute men to march. Esquire Woodbridge and Deacon Nash were our neighbors. About 8 a. m., they came down the street, each with a gun. Father met them at the cross road (that is, the road that comes in from Lenox), in front of his house, with a gun in his hand. They all fired in succession, and soon men began to assemble, some having guns and knapsacks. The Pastor of the parish, Rev. Dr. West, made a prayer. The people collected on the piazza of the house—as many as it could

hold—it being a rainy morning in April. About fifteen minute men marched before twelve o'clock; and this promptness and despatch was characteristic of that stirring period.

[My parents had twelve children that lived to adult years, six sons and six daughters. The oldest, Sarah, married Benjamin Chaplin, of Mansfield, Conn., and for her second husband, Captain Daniel Tyler, of Brookline, Conn. They both lived to about 80 years of age.

Edward, the second, married Mary Ballard, resided in Stockbridge ten or twelve years thereafter, and then removed to Broome County, New York. He died in 1846, aged 80 years.

Jonathan, the third, married Lucy Woodbridge. They settled first in Stockbridge, later in Broome County. He died about 1830.

Richard, the fourth, studied law, and engaged in the practice at Albany, N. Y.; married a Miss Griffin, of Hampton, Conn.; from Albany he removed to Cooperstown, N. Y., where he died in 1805.

Phebe, the fifth, married Rev. Asahel Hooker, of Goshen, Conn. Mr. Hooker's health was impaired by the cold, bleak climate, and they removed to Norwich, Conn., about 1810, and he died there 1813. My sister, some years afterwards, married Samuel Farrar, Esq., of Andover, Mass., and at the date of this writing (1847) is still living.

I was the sixth child. Timothy, the seventh child, married Miss Sarah Haigh, of Huddersfield, England. They settled in Charleston, S. C., later in Savannah, Ga.;

about 1830, removed to Lexington, Greene County, N. Y., and thence to Jersey City, N. J.

The eighth, Rhoda, married Josiah Dwight, Esq. They lived in Stockbridge several years, and thence went to Northampton. Mr. Dwight died about 1820; my sister is still (1847) living.

The ninth, Elizabeth, never married, and now resides at Northampton.

The tenth, Mary, married Mason Whiting, Esq. They first lived in Great Barrington, and then removed to Binghamton, N. Y., where they now live (1847).

Anna, the eleventh, (called Nancy, in the family), married a Mr. Williams, of Hadley, Conn., about 1830, and died two years after.

Robert Burr, the twelfth, married Miss Hannah Pomeroy, of Northampton; after two years they removed to Charleston, S. C., where he died of yellow fever, about 1824. His widow married John Tappan, Esq., of Boston, in 1844.]

I was employed in assisting my mother—tending the children and in household affairs, going to school—until I was old enough to ride a horse, to drive an ox team in ploughing, to drive the cows to pasture a mile distant, and to bring them home at night. I had no brother within two years either older or younger than myself, therefore I was longer continued as a help to my mother. When I was in my fourteenth year, my father proposed that I should learn the trade of tanner and currier. As I have previously stated,

my maternal grandfather was a tanner, which circumstance recommended to me that pursuit. I acquiesced in my father's proposal, and he made an arrangement with Col. Oliver Spencer, who married a sister of my mother, and Col. Matthias Ogden, brother of my mother, who succeeded grandfather Ogden in his tannery, to take me as an apprentice. Some of the last days of November, 1784, father sent me on horseback in company with two of his neighbors, Mr. Pratt and Mr. Hutchins, to Hudson, N. Y. There I took a passage on a brig loaded with live stock—cattle and horses on deck—for one of the West India Islands. We had a passage of a week to New York, arriving there in the morning. I delivered a letter father had written my cousin and his nephew, Col. Aaron Burr, who resided there, and soon after noon took the ferry boat for Elizabethtown, reaching that place about dark.

The British army evacuated New York in November, 1783, a year before I passed through. A large part of the city was burned soon after the British army occupied it. At the time I was first there the population was said to be about 15,000. There was not a single house between St. Paul's

church and the Bowling Green, and from Broad Street to the North River. The only part inhabited was from Whitehall to Broad Street, up Broad to Nassau and to John St., and up Pearl St. to Cherry St. The population was almost wholly confined to the east and southeast of the above lines.

Before the war, Col. Spencer did an extensive and profitable business in tanning. He removed his family to Mendham, Morris County, that they might be safe from the enemy. Most of the time he commanded a regiment in the Continental army, with but little pay, and of course supported himself. This and the wants of his large family exhausted his property. He had nothing left but some wild land in the west, given by Congress to the officers and soldiers of the army. He removed his family to Elizabethtown two or three months before I began my apprenticeship. The tannery of my employers was established by the first ancestor of my Grandfather Ogden who emigrated from England, and was a tanner. It was one of the most extensive tanneries then in the United States. It would contain 1500 sides, if every vat was filled. The average time for completing the tanning of the stock

was over twelve months. The tannery was entirely upon the old plan, without a single modern improvement, except that the lime vats and water pools were let off by plugs at the bottom into the adjoining brook. The vats were upon a hill, had no underground conductors, and were both filled and emptied by a wooden bucket with a long handle, so as to make a dipper. The bark was ground by two horses. There was a curb of 12 or 15 feet in diameter, made of three inch plank, with a rim 15 inches high round the outside; a stone wheel and also a wooden wheel, of even height, when placed on edge, say $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, and 8 to 10 inches thick. The stone was cut into "bears mouths," five inches from center to center of each. The wooden wheel had round iron pins inserted. The bark was ground by these wheels rolling over it; and one-fourth of a cord of bark was a "flooring." Two floorings were a fair day's work. The first year of my apprenticeship my work was almost exclusively to grind bark. We had not a single vat under cover; our "beam house" was an open shed, and here we apprentices, five, and one journeyman, worked summer and winter, early and late. The only reward we had was in acquiring a

knowledge (a most limited one) of the trade, and a right to tan four sheep skins a year. Very plain, miserable board; and not an article of clothing, or even a pair of "taps," did our employers give us. Towards the close of my first year's apprenticeship, I was so afflicted with headache that my father and my employers thought I had better leave the trade and return to Stockbridge and work at farming. This I did, and remained with my father until September, 1787.

During this residence in Stockbridge, Shays' Insurrection took place. The war had left the country very poor; suits for the collection of debts were instituted in great numbers; the Courts of Common Pleas and the Justices of the Peace issued Executions. To satisfy these, the personal property of the debtors was sold by the Sheriff to the highest bidder, generally at a small fraction of the value, owing to the scarcity of money. These oppressive measures led the people to march, arms in hand, and to obstruct the sitting of the Courts—beginning in Hampshire County, in September, 1786, and extending to Worcester, Middlesex, and Berkshire Counties. Several thousand, probably five or six, able-bodied men, took part with the insurgents. The

largest gathering was at Springfield, in October, 1786. About 200 men, under the command of Daniel Shays, who had been a Captain in the Revolutionary Army, attempted to capture the U. S. Arsenal, at Springfield, which was protected by General Shepherd with a militia force of 400 men. Shays, with more courage than military discretion, marched his troops in solid columns in front of Gen. Shepherd's battery of light artillery. The General sent an aid to Shays, notifying him that if he advanced to a certain point he would fire a platoon of 8-pounders upon him. This notice was disregarded; the first shots were fired over the heads of the assailants, and produced no effect. The guns were then pointed at the advancing column, and killed six or eight men. The whole body fled to the pine woods and thence to their homes. The insurgents rallied within the four Counties during the autumn, winter and spring. The State of Massachusetts raised 1200 troops, placed them under the command of General Lincoln, who marched through the disaffected Counties. At Petersham, in Worcester Co., after a most tedious march of thirty miles, in the month of February, during the whole of a stormy night, he came by surprise upon a body—

about 1500—of the Shaysmen, under command of Shays himself, who fled instantly, and wholly broke up their encampment. The Governor enlisted for a short period (two months, to my recollection) in Berkshire Co., 250 troops, of whom I was one. About every town in that County contained some of the disaffected. Our Commander was Gen. Patterson, of Lenox, late of the Army. The sleighing was uninterrupted; we marched through and through the County, taking prisoners some of the most violent, keeping them under military guard, and when Gen. Lincoln reached Pittsfield, (in March) delivering them to him. We lay at Sheffield—the most southern town of the County—where we had taken six or eight prisoners. About 3 P. M., we were ordered to escort the prisoners to Pittsfield, 24 miles. We had three soldiers, one driver and three prisoners, to a sleigh. It was a bitter cold night. Our Commander suffered us to stop and warm at Barrington, six miles. The prisoner I had charge of was a Mr. Hubbard, a respectable middle-aged man. I told him that I would treat him with becoming respect, but as it was very dark, and I was responsible for his safe keeping, sitting on the same seat in the sleigh, he must allow

me (a lad of sixteen years) to hold him by the collar of his coat, to which he did not object. Thus we rode, I having my gun, bayonet fixed, held by my left hand, and Mr. Hubbard held by his collar with my right hand. We left Great Barrington after a brief warming. Having had no sleep the night previous—from being on guard—before we had gone two miles, I fell asleep and did not awake till we reached Lenox, eight miles. I started up, conscious of my criminality, but had the satisfaction of finding my prisoner safe, and my hand fast hold of his collar. And I did not perceive that my breach of duty had been discovered by any one.

Our party reached Pittsfield about one o'clock and delivered the prisoners. The quarters assigned us was a school house, as open as a barn. We made a fire, roasted some pork on the ramrod of my gun (my mother had given me a piece of pork and some bread when I left home). After finishing my meal, I wrapped myself in the blanket, and got several hours of comfortable sleep on the floor. We returned to our camp at Sheffield the following morning. Some time during the early part of the winter, the government troops were in Stockbridge, 150 to 200. A body of the Shaysmen col-

lected at West Stockbridge, five miles distant. The place is remarkable for the meeting of four roads, one from Stockbridge, one from Pittsfield and Lenox, one from Richmond, and one from Great Barrington. Gen. Patterson sent a detachment by circuitous route upon each of these roads, so arranging the time that the four should meet simultaneously at West Stockbridge. The expedition was well planned and well executed. We made the whole party of Shaysmen prisoners, about ninety. Our officers finding many of the disaffected in the upper part of the County, went to Williamstown. Found Shaysmen in all the towns, particularly in Adams, Cheshire, Lanesboro and Dalton. At Lenox, on our return, we halted over night. The officers heard there was a body of Shaysmen in the east part of this town, about five miles from the encampment. We were paraded early and proceeded in our sleighs in pursuit of these rebels. They were commanded by a Major Wiley, of Dalton, and we soon found ourselves within three-fourths of a mile of them. There was a small stream that had its rise in Becket, east of Lee, its course being nearly due west. The hills on each side of the stream were high and rather

steep. We were marched upon the north side of the stream by an old road, and on passing an elevation on our right, came in full view of the Shaysmen, half a mile distant, on the south side of the stream, handsomely paraded. The company to which I was attached was commanded by a Capt. Stoddard, also of the revolutionary army, a brave, good officer. Our company was the advance. As we were leaving the sleighs, our commander with his aids passed us—I heard one of them say “he was a brave man and there would be fighting that day.” Young as I was, I saw that Gen. Patterson was a little tipsy. The snow was about six inches deep, with a crust which would not bear a man, and this made the walking bad. As our company advanced, a company of the Shaysmen, preceded by the music of a fife, left their main body, marched in single file, crossed the stream directly in front of us and within gunshot, then halted. Our Captain had brought us to a halt before these Shaysmen had left their main body. Soon one of the aids came full speed up the hill to us, and told Capt. Stoddard that the General had sent a flag of truce to Wiley, giving him fifteen minutes to decide whether they

would surrender their arms, pull from their hats the green boughs, and promise to go home and obey the laws. Unless these terms were acceded to the General would attack them. We had one small field piece and twenty-five to thirty light horse. The aid told Capt. Stoddard that if the terms were not complied with, the field piece would fire and we must charge the enemy's advance guard; that we should be supported by Capt. Whiting's company, of Great Barrington; that the horse would charge up the creek, and thus cut off the communication between the main body and their advance guard. Capt. Stoddard called us to order; our Sergeants examined the muskets, ammunition, etc. I looked back of our company, and saw three of the Stockbridge physicians preparing their bandages and lint. Our Commander, after more than an hour's communication with the rebels, suffered them to depart, arms in hand, and green boughs in their hats, and we returned to our sleighs. As we were getting into them, the Shaysmen in a considerable number passed us, and fired guns over our heads and about us, which excited an indignation that our officers found it difficult to restrain. As it was, we took some of these men

prisoners and kept them under guard several days. Had Gen. Patterson not been under the influence of liquor, we no doubt should have had a battle that day.

After Gen. Lincoln reached Pittsfield, our detachment was disbanded. Still we had frequent alarms. The Shaysmen collected over the State line—in the State of New York, and were safe, *being in a foreign country*. (This was before the Federal Constitution was formed and adopted.) Gen. Lincoln's troops were enlisted for only a limited time, which expired early in March. It was said the Shaysmen had heard he had only thirty soldiers; and they were determined to attempt taking him prisoner. An alarm was sent to Stockbridge in the evening; fifteen or twenty of us started at once for Pittsfield. I was one of the number, called from my bed about ten o'clock, after a hard day's work laying up a heavy pole fence. We reached Pittsfield about two o'clock, A. M., found all safe, camped upon the bar room floor and got some sleep. Before sunrise an express from Stockbridge informed us that upwards of one hundred Shaysmen, commanded by a Capt. Hamlin, had marched from New Concord, just over the State line into Stockbridge, and burned every house

on the plain, and taken all the men prisoners. We returned rapidly to Stockbridge, found no houses had been burned, but they had been plundered, and all persons capable of bearing arms had been taken prisoners, about seventy-five, and Hamlin had gone through Great Barrington, designing to go through the town of Alford into New York. When we reached Stockbridge, we found Gen. Patterson with one hundred and fifty armed men just setting out in pursuit. Gen. Ashby, of Sheffield, was early notified of Hamlin's proceedings, and at once collected a body of troops of over one hundred—marched up and met Hamlin, who had the wickedness to crowd his prisoners at the point of the bayonet into the front of the troops. The badge of the Government men was a white paper in the front of their hats. Gen. Ashby led his troops to the battle and gave orders to fire. His men exclaimed "They are our friends, see their white papers." The General replied, "I see our friends, pour in your fire, and may God have mercy on their souls." Gen. Ashby's men fired several rounds, as did Hamlin's men. Several were killed. One of the prisoners, a Mr. Gleason, school teacher in Stockbridge, was of the number killed. Hamlin was severely woun-

ded. After five or six rounds were fired, the Shaysmen fled back toward Barrington village, and were met by Gen. Patterson's command within a mile of the battle ground—and were taken prisoners almost to a man. Ninety of them were prisoners in Barrington before sunrise the next morning. At Stockbridge, I joined Capt. Cook's company. We pursued Hamlin's party in sleighs, met them a mile below Barrington, and made them prisoners without resistance, except in one instance. A young man by the name of Hugo Burckhart, a member of Yale College, on his return from a vacation, fell in with our troops and met Hamlin's men, several of whom were together. They attempted to hide themselves in a swamp, on the margin of which was the road. Burckhart, with only a rattan in his hand, pursued a Shaysman, struck him with his rattan and ordered him to surrender. Instead of this, the man fired upon Burckhart, the ball passing through his shoulder, which threw him from his horse. I was stationed by the swamp when he was shot, and took one man a prisoner who was tried for treason and condemned to death, but was pardoned by the Governor. The Stockbridge company returned home the same evening. On the

way we passed the body of Gleason on a sleigh, being sent to his family. Hamlin lingered several months from his wound; was subsequently tried by the Supreme Court, and sentenced to the State Prison for a term of years.

Note by William H. Edwards, 29 December, 1891.

I have copied the Shays episode from my Grandfathers Mss. *in extenso*, as it relates to an obscure passage in the country's history. In 1842, I graduated at Williams College, and my Grandfather, accompanied by my Aunt Elizabeth Edwards, drove across country from Hunter, New York, and were present at the occasion. With them my Uncle, Henry Edwards, of Boston, who happened to be at Hunter at the time. After the commencement exercises were over, Mr. E. went on to Boston, but I accompanied my Grandfather and Aunt to Pittsfield, Stockbridge, and thence home. It was the first time Grandfather had been in Berkshire for many years, or since he left that State in 1815, as hereinafter related. As we passed through Lanesboro, he pointed out the site of the house where he had one night encamped with Shaysmen prisoners. As we came into Stockbridge main street from Lenox, exactly at the corner, to the right, stood the old house of Timothy Edwards, in good repair, then occupied and owned by Mr. Owen. There was the porch on which the minute men had gathered, and at the north gable was a small attic window—the house was two stories and an attic—at which my Grandfather said his father, Timothy, had stationed him, gun in hand, on some occasion of an attack apprehended by the Shaysmen,

and showed him how to get two of them in line and shoot them at one fire. The old gentleman told us this with great relish. In front of the house stood several immense, wide-spreading elm trees, and all these he told us he had carried on his back for two miles, when he was sixteen years old, and planted with his own hands. We drove on to the cemetery where Timothy and Rhoda Edwards are buried, and thence crossed the river to the west. Here my Grandfather said was his father's farm, and had much to say about it. We drew up at a small house or cabin by the left of the road, and Grandfather inquired of a young colored girl if "Cæsar" lived there. Presently a very old colored man came out, and Grandfather called him to the door of the "carryall," saying, after a moment of suspense, "Don't you know me, Cæsar?" The old man was dim of sight and probably of hearing. It was strange to see the intense look in his face as he felt that there was some one here whom he ought to know. Grandfather then said, "Don't you know Billy Edwards," and the old man cried out with delight. The two broke down together, and for a moment neither could speak. At last Grandfather inquired of Cæsar about himself, and told him what he could, and they parted with adieus for this world. It seems they had been boys together 60 or more years ago. Timothy Edwards died at Stockbridge, October 23rd, 1813, aged 75 years. Rhoda, his wife at Litchfield, Conn., November 5th, 1822.

While I was at Williams College, 1838-42, Dr. Mark Hopkins, who had been a boy at Stockbridge in the first years of this century, told me he well remembered Timothy Edwards coming to the school and informing the teacher that some of the boys had

passed him on the street, without taking off their hats! In my own younger days, say about 1830, school children in the country were taught by their teachers to bow to passing strangers, and the girls to curtesy, and they usually did as they were taught.

My father was one of the Commissioners from Massachusetts to unite with Commissioners from New York, to run the line between the two States. Gen. Schuyler was one of the New York Commissioners. My older brothers were abroad, engaged for themselves. Father committed to me the oversight of his farming business, which was extensive. We had 60 acres of mowing, 40 of harvesting, wheat, rye and oats. Also a summer fallow of 30 acres, for wheat and rye, to be prepared and seeded early in the autumn. Father returned from running the State line about the time I finished the sowing of the summer fallow. After carefully examining the accounts and results of my summer's doings, he was well satisfied, said he could hardly have done better had he been at home himself, except he could have got along with less cider and rum for the laborers than I had! This was the autumn of 1787.

Being in a measure relieved of my severe headache, I returned to Elizabethtown to

complete my apprenticeship. Col. Spencer had but a small stock of hides, and thought seriously of giving up the tanning, and removing his family to the far west, on the Ohio River, where he had a tract of Bounty Land given him by the Government for services in the Revolutionary War. Early in 1788, he went to explore his land, giving me permission to find employment for myself for six months, by which time he would decide about removing. I engaged with a Mr. Price; he would board me and give me instructions in the currier's trade. Col. Spencer had a prosperous journey, found his land new and uncultivated, situated within a few miles of where Cincinnati now is, and decided to remove. He gave up my indentures, and I renewed my engagement with Mr. Price for another six months, he to board and instruct me, and to give me \$15.00 for the six months. This I thought very liberal. Mr. Price treated me kindly, and moreover felt a regard for the family.

Soon after my return, I joined a Grenadier Militia Company. Our uniform was for those days a splendid one—long blue broad-cloth coats, pantaloons with scarlet facings, scarlet vest; a high cap, bearskin in front, scarlet back; an emblematical plate and

feathers on the front. Our company was commanded by a Col. Crane, a Revolutionary officer. The first lieutenant was a Mr. Hendricks, a very respectable mechanic; the second lieutenant was Mr. Elias Dayton, a son of Gen. Dayton, of the Revolutionary Army. Our company was the flower of the militia of Elizabethtown. We often paraded for exercise and improvement. We were stationed in the company according to stature, the tallest on the right and left, of course the shortest in the center. I was the fourth in stature, being six feet three and one-half inches tall. My station was the second on the left. There was in Elizabethtown, besides our company of Grenadiers, one of Horse, one of Artillery, and one of Infantry.

The present Constitution of the United States was framed at Philadelphia, in 1787, was adopted by the several States in 1788, and the first President and Members of Congress chosen, and the Government organized. The President, General Washington, was inducted into office, at New York, in April, 1789. A messenger had been despatched to Mt. Vernon, 10th April, who arrived there in such season that the General set out, the 14th, for New York. On his journey through

New Jersey he lodged at Woodbridge, seven miles from Elizabethtown, on the Philadelphia road. Arrangements were made for the General and his party to breakfast in Elizabethtown, at the house of Mr. Samuel Smith. An escort from Elizabethtown met the General near Woodbridge. The uniformed companies were paraded in season to pay a salute upon his arrival. My company stood with arms presented, just at the right of and nearest Mr. Smith's house. Be assured I felt a pride in presenting arms to the man who "was first in war, first in peace, first in the hearts of his countrymen." The General's travelling establishment consisted of three gentlemen, four servants, a travelling chariot and pair, and several led horses, one of which was his favorite white horse, which he had had with him during the war. A large number of citizens—several hundred—had assembled to greet General Washington, who left his carriage, mounted his horse, and preceded the cavalcade a few rods, when passing the bridge at the head of the village. He was dressed in a black suit, with a cocked hat, which he held in his right hand near the pommel of his saddle, in his left the bridle. The horse was a stallion, beautiful—and

walked most gracefully, turning his head from right to left and left to right, seeming to discover a consciousness of the proud part he was taking in the events of the day. As soon as the General alighted, my company was called to order, and the marshal of the day requested our Captain to detach a guard of six, and that two sentinels be placed in front of the house while the General was at breakfast. Captain Crane ordered six privates from the left of the company, with a corporal, and being second on the extreme left, I was one of the fortunate number who that day had the honor of being a sentinel at the door of the house while General Washington was at breakfast,—the greatest feat of my life ! Several uniformed companies from the surrounding towns, particularly Newark, six miles distant, came thus early in the day to have the happiness of seeing General Washington, and in all there were brought together over four hundred troops. We marched in platoons to the Point, where we were reviewed by the General previous to his embarking for New York.

A splendid boat had been built in New York for the express purpose of conveying the General from Elizabethtown Point to the

city, and thirteen Pilots volunteered their services to row the boat. As he embarked, the welkin rang with the firing of the Artillery and the platoons of Infantry. Our Company returned to the parade ground, and were then dismissed. Thus ended the exercises and events of this interesting day,—all of which are now, after a lapse of sixty years, as distinctly and perfectly remembered as if they had transpired yesterday.

I here insert some notes made by my father, Wm. W. Edwards, after he had read my Grandfather's manuscript, several years ago, and which relate to Timothy Edwards and that part of William's life heretofore treated of.

WM. H. EDWARDS.

On the death of President Jonathan Edwards, at Princeton, N. J., 1756, the care of his numerous family devolved in a great measure upon the eldest son, Timothy. He had been educated at Nassau Hall, but finding the cares and expenses of two families pressing upon him, he settled as a trader in Elizabethtown.

On his removal to Stockbridge, with his wife and six small children, he found that region largely occupied by the Stockbridge Indians, among whom his father had labored as a missionary twenty years before. William was an infant, a few months old, at this removal. When he was four years old, he was playing with an Indian boy of about his own age, in the open garret of his father's house, and in running around the chimney, which was in the middle of the garret, their

heads came in contact, and William was knocked senseless upon the floor. This blow caused the cranium to enlarge as the child grew, affecting him so much in his fifteenth year that he was compelled to give up his trade for a season, and devote himself to light work about the house and farm of his father.

When William went to Elizabethtown, as related in the memoir, he was compelled to work early and late. He had had a very insufficient education thus far, as also related. His uncle, Col. Aaron Ogden, then a practising lawyer in Elizabethtown, possessed a good miscellaneous library, and tendered his books, with the use of the office fire and lights to his young kinsman; and notwithstanding the fatigue of his daily toil, and the temptations of the society of troops of his cousins of both sexes, the offer was gratefully accepted, and regularly improved so long as he remained in Elizabethtown. Throughout his long life, he attributed to this reading the mental culture which enabled him ever after to maintain a high position in whatever situation he was placed.

Concerning the sacking of Stockbridge spoken of in the memoir, William W. Edwards adds the following notes:

Numerous anecdotes of this affair were related by the several families which are worthy of preservation. Timothy Edwards, being a Judge of the Court, was particularly obnoxious to the Shaysmen. His eldest son, Edward, was at home, and finding that no defense to the sudden attack could be made, he hid himself in the barn, behind the hay. While he was concealed there, some Shaysmen came into the barn and searched every nook, pricking the hay with their bayonets.

Fortunately, for the moment, he escaped discovery, but coming out before they had all departed, he was seized and carried off, and was among the devoted band of prisoners pressed to the front of Hamlin's forces, as before related. Timothy had received £100 in specie but a short time before, which his wife concealed on her person, and wore at the time the rebels were searching the house. This saved the family from poverty, for the money paid for the lands in the ten townships in Chenango County, purchased by Timothy Edwards and others, as related in the memoir.

I continued with Mr. Price until September, 1789, and then went to East Haddam, Conn., to work at the tanning and currying business with Colonel David B. Spencer, brother of Oliver Spencer. I remained with him a year, and learned more of the two trades by far than I had learned before. Colonel Spencer and family treated me with much kindness, as did Uncle and Aunt Mosely, who resided in that town. Aunt was a sister of my mother. At East Haddam I became acquainted with an interesting circle of young people of both sexes, which was a novelty to me.

So reduced were the pecuniary means of my father, from his losses and sacrifices in the war, that the family were obliged to give up the use of tea and sugar, which was a great privation to my mother, then

more than fifty years old. By the aid of Mr. Price, when at Elizabethtown, I purchased on a credit some sole and upper leather, which I sent to my father. This he sold at a profit, which profit I invested in tea and sugar—repeating the enterprise several times. In this way, I had the satisfaction of supplying my parents with those comforts for twelve or eighteen months before I left Elizabethtown. The situation of my parents and younger brothers and sisters led me to listen to the advice and solicitation of my father, to settle in Northampton, his native place, and this before I was twenty years old, I fully expecting that it would be incumbent on me to provide a home for my parents in their old age. My own wishes and judgment were that I should work as a journeyman for several years, five or six at least, until I had thoroughly learned my business, and had acquired some property to enable me to make a small beginning without running in debt. I had a strong desire to locate myself in the State of New York, west of Albany. The movement to Northampton was a most unfortunate one, and was the first wrong step that led to troubles which have attended me through life. No water

power, bark to be transported several miles, I compelled at the start to assume a heavy debt. But my location at Northampton led to a happy matrimonial alliance, which has been a solace to me under the evils which were the consequence of this injudicious removal. Upon a brief acquaintance, Judge Henshaw sold me ground for a tannery, having an unfailing spring of water upon it, and a side hill favorable for building upon, the lot containing five acres. But I found I must purchase with it an old house and three-quarters of an acre, on the opposite side of the street. The price was about \$700, upon a long credit, with an annual interest of six per cent. This was in September, 1790. I had saved about \$100, and my father gave me \$300. With this I commenced operations. I drew a plan for the tan yard, adapting it to the ground, built a barkhouse 24 feet square, placed a barkmill upon the ground floor with a curb, and a heavy round stone, like a large sized millstone, so contrived as to roll upon the bark in the curb, and thus grind it fine and fit for use; and stored my bark in the loft above, as I took it in. I built one lime vat, one water vat, and four tan vats; purchased 50 hides, which I got into the bark by 1st De-

cember. I found myself by the 1st of January, 1791, nearly \$1000 in debt, with no means either to pay my interest, or to enlarge my tannery, except my head and hands. During the winter I did some currying for tanners in the neighboring towns, thus earning sufficient to pay for my board. On the opening of spring, I enlarged the tannery, bought on credit more hides, making my stock up to about 200, took two apprentices who worked for their board and clothes, and built a small barn upon the street. I began keeping house with an ancient good woman, Naomi Phelps, who had been in my mother's employment, in Stockbridge, as a spinner, several years, when I was a youth and before I began my apprenticeship. I took some land on shares of Judge Henshaw, some for planting and some for mowing, and thus I got corn for my own pork, and hay for the cow and the mill horse. In the autumn of that year, 1791, by great efforts and some waste of bark, I got my first 50 hides tanned and retailed the leather, which gave satisfaction. Leather was in good demand, a large proportion of that consumed in the region being purchased in Boston, and transported 100 miles, by the storekeepers, and

retailed with other goods. There was a general disposition in the community to aid me in pursuing my business, giving me a preference in selling their hides, and in purchasing their supplies of leather. Some gentlemen loaned me money, particularly Judge Henshaw, Esquire Buck(?) and Judge Lyman, and my credit was good; but when I look back to the events of that time, I am surprised that it should have been. I enlarged my business from year to year, and in 1794, I sent a quantity of calfskins and upper leather, skirting, harness and bridle leather, to Boston, for a market—the first leather that was sent from Hampshire County to a market.

In November, 1793, I married Miss Rebecca Tappan, daughter of Benjamin and Sarah Tappan, of Northampton*. I was 23 years

*[ANCESTRY OF REBECCA TAPPAN, WIFE OF WILLIAM EDWARDS.

1. ABRAHAM TOPPAN came to America from Yarmouth, England, October, 1637. (The name was originally Topham, taken from the name of a place in Yorkshire.) His wife was Susanna Taylor. They lived at Newbury, Essex Co., Mass.; had seven children of whom was
2. PETER. From Peter descended
3. SAMUEL, born 5th June, 1670; married Abigail Wig-

glesworth, in 1702, daughter of the Minister of Malden, Mass. They had ten children, the ninth of whom was

4. BENJAMIN, born in 1720; graduated at Harvard College; married Elizabeth Marsh, of Haverhill, Mass.; was Minister at Manchester, Essex Co., in 1745. He died in 1790. They had twelve children, the oldest being
5. BENJAMIN, born October 21, 1747; married Sarah Homes, October 22, 1770.

After the death of Rev. Benjamin Toppan, 1790, his children, at a family meeting, agreed to change the spelling to Tappan.

Benjamin and Sarah Homes Tappan lived at Northampton, Mass. He died January 29, 1831: Mrs. Tappan died March 26, 1826. They had eleven children, nine of whom survived both parents.

1. *Sarah*, born August 1, 1771; married to Solomon Stoddard, Esq., of Northampton.
2. *Benjamin*, born May 25, 1773; married Nancy Wright; studied law; removed at an early day to Steubenville, Ohio. Was distinguished in his profession. Judge of Circuit Court, and later, U. S. Senator, for the State of Ohio.
3. *Rebecca*, born July 14, 1775; married William Edwards, of Northampton, November 11, 1793; died in Brooklyn, N. Y., 1857.
4. *Lucy*, born July 14, 1777; married John Pierce.
5. *William*, born July 21, 1779.

6. *John*, born July 26, 1781; lived in Boston; married Sarah Salisbury, September 30, 1800.
 7. *Charles*, born August 8, 1781; married Ann Maria Long, of Portsmouth, N. H.
 8. *Arthur*, born 22d May, 1786; married Francis Antill, of Montreal, Canada, September 18, 1810; merchant at Montreal, later at New York; died at New Haven, Conn.
 9. *Lewis*, born October 31, 1788; married Susan Aspinwall, of Brookline, Mass., September 7, 1813.
 10. *Elizabeth*, born October 31, 1790; married Alexander Phenix, 1817.
 11. *George W.*, born October 30, 1793.
1. WILLIAM HOMES, born in North of Ireland, near Londonderry; married Miss Craghead of that town; was ordained Minister of the Presbyterian Church, October 21, 1692. Soon after, he emigrated to America, and was installed pastor of the church at Chilmark, Martha's Vineyard, in 1715. They had seven children, of whom was
 2. ROBERT, born——; master of a vessel that traded between Boston and Philadelphia; he married Mary Franklin, daughter of Josiah and Abiah Folger Franklin, and sister of Dr. Benjamin Franklin. She was born 22nd September, 1694. It is supposed that he was lost at sea. They left two children, one of whom was
 3. WILLIAM, born 10th June, 1716; in the house at the corner of Union and Hanover Sts., Boston; married Rebecca Dawes, of Boston, 24th April, 1740; died

July, 1785. They had fifteen children, of whom was

4. SARAH, born January 2, 1748; married to Benjamin Tappan, of Northampton, Mass., October 22, 1770.

old the day we were married, my wife upwards of 18. Our connection has been a very happy one. Blessed by our Heavenly Father with mutual love and affection, we have had the happiness to rear ten amiable and most affectionate children. Our oldest son (William W. Edwards) was born in 1796, and the youngest (Richard C.), in 1819—six sons and four daughters.

I continued to enlarge the tannery from year to year, and to increase my indebtedness. In 1799, the tannery was burned—wholly destroyed. I lost everything—had not a dollar left; was all but fully decided to close my business, give up to my creditors everything I possessed, and seek a residence at the west. But my numerous friends persuaded me to rebuild, and aided me liberally with their subscriptions. I rebuilt, and extended the tannery as far as I could get hides—without any capital, for I had never been worth one dollar from the time I began to the time I was burned out; and

that calamity added to my insolvency several thousand dollars.

My loss by fire led me to contemplate improvements in tanning. I found the whole fraternity utterly ignorant of the nature and results of the business. I never saw a man who could tell how many pounds of leather could be made from a given quantity of hides, or how many pounds of leather could be made from a given quantity of bark; say one cord. Tanning is a chemical process. All that the most experienced knew was that immersing the hides in a decoction of lime and water a few days would loosen the hair, so that it could be worked off on the tanner's "beam;" that the lime could be expelled from the hide, after dehairing, by soaking it in water, but in a shorter time, by soaking it in hen dung and water and again working it over the beam; and then applying ground bark to the hide, renewing it once in 30 days—for from six months to two years, according to the thickness of the hide. Then the leather was taken out of the vats, rinsed in clear water and hung up to dry—as soon as dry being fit for sale or use.

The method of constructing a tannery was to place the tanning vats and leaches upon a level; the usual size of the vats being 6x4

feet--the leaches double the size--constructed by dowelling the plank together, depending upon clay to make them tight. In the process of tanning the liquor was often to be changed and run through the leaches, which were filled with bark. The liquor was dipped by a long handled bucket into a chute, so arranged as to carry the liquor into the leach, or from the leach into the vat where it was wanted for use. The leaches had a corner boarded off, of size to admit the bucket, called the "eye" of the leach. This separated the bark from the liquor, which could from this eye be dipped from one leach into another—that is, from the weak leaches into the stronger ones. It was termed "coursing the leaches." Copying after the plan of the yard in which I served my apprenticeship, in my first tannery I had three leaches near the middle of the tan vats. When we changed the liquors in the vats, which was usually done at every working day, they were dipped out nearly to the bottom, when a boy got into the vat and shovelled the remainder into the bucket. Then the new liquor from the forward leach was dipped into the empty vat. This made a new "handler," an important thing for hides newly put into the bark. We made

two new "handlers" daily when in full work. The old liquor must be dipped out into the weakest leach—the empty handler filled by dipping the liquor from the forward leach, which was "coursed" up from the second leach, which was coursed up from the third leach. Thus to make a "handler" required the bailing out of five full vats, and the larger half of a faithful day's work for two apprentices. I have been particular in stating the process in order to show the saving of labor in accomplishing the same object, in an improved tannery, with water power, which would do the same work in one hour. I had found by careful observation that I could forward my tanning more in the months of July, August and September, than in the other nine months of the year. The cause was obvious—the temperature of the weather. My first thought of improvement in this point was, that if I could get a summer temperature for my liquors all the year, it would be a valuable achievement. After numerous experiments, I contrived a leach with a copper heater or cylinder passing through its whole length, adapted to having a fire built in its mouth, the smoke being carried off through an elbow in the rear. The leach was filled

with new bark and with weak liquor or with water, by the aid of a pump, and fire applied. This brought the liquor to boiling heat in 24 hours (but scalding heat was found to be sufficient to exhaust the bark, even new bark, within a week). More than two-thirds the time necessary for the process was thus saved, besides the great saving in more effectually extracting the tannin from the bark than in the old method.

After various experiments, I found it the best plan to place two leaches, one above the other, and to put the heater into the upper one; to have the bottom of the lower leach 12 to 18 inches above the top of the tan vats; to have leaders placed under one end of the row of vats, connected with them by a tube inserted in the bottom of each vat, at a corner; a plug to be fitted to the tube of sufficient length to come to the top of the vat, protected by a strainer, to keep the bark out; the leader to terminate in a special vat two feet deeper than the others. This deep vat we called a "junk." I placed a powerful pump, moved by water power. Thus to make a new handler—to obtain a new liquor for laying away a pack—the labor of half an hour by a single hand accomplished as much as that of two hands for half a day

by the old method. This saving is a fair specimen of the saving effected in the whole process of tanning. As previously stated, my master employed one hand to every hundred sides tanned. With an improved modern built tannery, with good water power, I have year after year tanned 30,000 to 40,000 sides with the labor of 20 hands. I have built six tanneries—extensive ones, the first in Northampton, commenced in the autumn of 1790, and the last in Hunter, Greene Co., New York, in 1830. This last had seven powerful water wheels, one for grinding bark, four for the hide mills in the beam house, one for a pump, and one for a rolling machine, to finish the leather. About the year 1827, I laid aside the use of lime, which enabled me to gain on dry hides 60 per cent, instead of 20, which was the average under the old mode of tanning. And the quality of the leather was improved in as great a proportion. The cost of tanning sole leather in the old way was 12 cents per pound, as declared by the late Jacob Lorillard and other experienced tanners. My various and numerous improvements reduced the cost to 4 cents per pound, thus saving 8 cents. So much is the community benefited by my improvements, and very many

individual fortunes have been made by use of them.

With regard to the invention of the "rolling" apparatus, the improved bark mill, and other labor saving machinery, Mr. William W. Edwards adds the following notes: "My father had observed with regret the rough surface of the finished sole leather, which contrasted unfavorably with the smooth surface of English leather which he had seen in market. He had also observed the solidity and finish given to leather by the hammer on the lapstone. If this solidity and finish could be given to the whole side, a much better article would be produced. He tried various experiments in pounding, rubbing and rolling, and finally hit upon the "Rolling Machine," now of universal use. The appearance of the improved leather in market created no small sensation among the trade, especially in New York. My father had by this time extended his acquaintance to that city, and had sent thither a considerable quantity of his leather of various kinds. He proposed to Mr. Jacob Lorillard to accompany him to Northampton and see for himself what improvements in tanning he had made. The long journey was made by land, and Mr. Lorillard was especially impressed by the simple but effectual work of the roller.

Father had early given up the old stone horse mill for grinding bark, and substituted a pair of mill stones moved by water. For this purpose he purchased a site, and erected the mill on a branch of the Mill River, five miles west of the tannery, and by so much nearer his bark region. The ground bark was carted to the tannery daily for use.

Dry hides began to appear. Father at first used the stone wheel, and the floor where he had originally ground his bark, to soften the hides, but this was quite too slow and tedious an operation. It occurred to him that they might be "fulled" in a mill. Taking a few hides in his wagon to a cloth-fulling mill, at a season when it was idle, he persuaded the owner to try the effect of his hammers upon them. It operated admirably, and he set at work at once to build machines adapted to the requirements. Thus was invented the "Hide Mill," also now universally used in the trade. In these several improvements he applied for letters patent, which were issued in 1812, signed Jas. Madison, President, James Monroe, Secretary.

Mr. Wm. W. Edwards also gives the following notes upon his father's removal to Northampton in 1790, and residence there afterwards.

This beautiful town was the residence of my father's grandfather—Jonathan Edwards, and the birth place of his father Timothy. It is situated on the west side of the Connecticut River, just above high water mark, and above the rich alluvial ground of which its farming lands are composed. These being subject to annual overflow with the melting of the ice and snow were unfit for living upon. The inhabitants early divided the higher land into lots of a few acres each, and built thereon their dwellings, and to these lots the subdivided lowlands, or "meadows," were appendages. This peculiarity gave the town a more social habit than is usual in the country, and the hearts of her children

were remarkably attached to the home of their birth. The losses which Timothy Edwards had sustained had nearly absorbed his means of subsistence, and he looked to his son William as the staff upon which he might lean in his declining years. He longed to pass the remnant of his days in Northampton, which also seemed the most desirable spot in which to educate his younger children. He took William to Northampton, in September, 1790, and introduced him to his own and his father's friends. William was received with so much kindness and consideration that he yielded his own convictions (which, as related, had led him to think of a longer prosecution of his trade, and then removal to New York), and settled in Northampton. He was of a very social temperament, and found ready to receive him a large circle of intelligent young people, and for over twenty years, and so long as he lived there, he was the life and delight of that circle. He was of easy and handsome address; was the leader at all the festive gatherings, sleigh-rides, balls and parties. He was, as related in the memoirs, united to one of the leading families by his marriage, in 1793. On this occasion he gave a ball and supper to his wife's friends, at the principal hotel in the place, now known as "Warner's." His wedding suit, coat and small clothes, was of white broadcloth, vest and stockings of white silk; slippers with high heels. He opened the ball with his wife's grandmother for partner, the widow of the former clergyman of Manchester, N. H. (Mrs. Elizabeth Marsh Tappan, wife of Rev. Benjamin Tappan). He was early entrusted with various offices; was chosen Captain of the Engine Company; Captain of the new Artillery Company; was repeatedly on the Board of Selectmen, and was

identified with every measure of improvement in the town. Was especially prominent in the erection of the Congregational Church, now known as the "First Church," which was planned and built (mainly after suggestions emanating from him) as town property, to the entire union and harmony of the town. He represented Northampton at the General Court, at Boston, repeatedly; was in politics a Federalist, opposed to the French proclivities of Jefferson and Burr, and the measures generally of the Democratic party—their gun-boat navy, non-intercourse, embargo, and war with Great Britain. He became intimate with all the politicians of his school in the State. No man exercised more political influence in his Town and State than he did in the early years of this century. His house was always open to the visits of his numerous family connections and friends. He was in the habit of giving a dinner to the Sheriff, the Judges, and the prominent members of the Bar, at his house nearly every session of the Court. He was well read, had a fund of anecdote which he used with effect, and his company was always sought at public and convivial gatherings, in Northampton. There was within the recollection of the writer (William W. Edwards) a circle composed of Judge Lyman, Eben Hunt, J. H. Lyman, Eli P. Ashman, E. H. Mills, Sam'l Henshaw, Josiah Dwight, J. C. Bates, and others, who dined together alternately at each others houses every Saturday, vieing with each other in the liberality of their entertainments.

Following the memoir :

In the year 1800, the country was threatened with war with France, during the

Presidency of the elder Adams. Troops were enlisted; Congress passed a law authorizing the President to accept the services of a large body of volunteers. A company of 60 men was raised in Northampton, and wholly unexpectedly to myself, I was unanimously chosen Captain—although some members of the company were from the first families of the town. The United States furnished us with artillery. We uniformed and often exercised, and held ourselves in readiness to march on short notice. But we were never called into service. When our term—three years—with the U. S. expired, we were cordially received into the regular militia of Massachusetts, where I was raised, first to the rank of Major, subsequently to Colonel.

I may here mention that when Boston was threatened with an attack by the British, in the autumn of 1813, I commanded a regiment of artillery consisting of four companies. Eleven companies were ordered into service and to rendezvous at Boston as one regiment. The Governor and Council called me to the command of this regiment. The officers of our Leather Manufacturing Company, of their own accord, applied to the Governor and Council with the request

that some other officer of the same grade should be substituted in my place, and that I should be excused, as my whole time and attention was very important to that concern. His Excellency, Caleb Strong, was the Governor. The Council replied to the application of Head and Francis that there was no other man than myself to whom they would intrust so important a command. I was two months in the service; was stationed at South Boston, in General Maltby's Brigade, and General Whiton's (?) Division.

I forgot to state, in due order of time, a business transaction of a large amount, attended eventually with immense loss of property. About the year 1795, I became acquainted with Mr. Joseph Barrell, of Charlestown, Mass., a man worth then half a million of dollars, \$400,000 of which was in United States Bank stock. The State of Connecticut sold their Western Reserve lands,—a very large body of land lying to the south of Lake Erie. Mr. Barrell solicited me to attend a re-sale which was to take place at Hartford within thirty days, and offered to advance cash and credit to the extent of 15 to 20,000 dollars, we to share the profit or loss, in case I purchased. I

went to Hartford, and after some investigation, purchased 75,000 acres, to pay the State forty cents per acre within five years, with interest after two years—ten per cent in cash within twenty days to the original purchasers from the State. The whole purchase amounted to \$33,000. Within three or four days, I was offered \$7,000 for my bargain. I felt under obligation to consult Mr. Barrell. He chose to hold on to the purchase, advanced the money, and gave his notes, which I also signed. Mr. Barrell went largely into Georgia, Pennsylvania, and Virginia land speculations, and within two or three years, invested his whole property in those lands. He called on me to assign to him my share of the New Connecticut lands, as he had advanced the cash and credit. Such had been the conveyances to Mr. Barrell and myself that neither could convey without the signature of the other. The gentlemen of whom I purchased became alarmed at reports of Mr. Barrell's insolvency, and applied to me for my assurance that I would not transfer or convey these lands until their claim was paid. This appeared to me the proper course, and I gave them my verbal assurance that I would hold on to the lands until the claim was paid. To pacify

Mr. Barrell, I was obliged to buy him out. I then sold the lands and paid all claims, but at a loss of three-fourths the original cost.

About the year 1796, a land speculation was gotten up in Hartford by Jacob Ogden, called the Gore Company, embracing a tract claimed by the State of Connecticut from the southwest corner of said State through Pennsylvania and New York—the two lines diverging to the westward, to the western boundary of the United States (then the Mississippi River),—a very large tract. Numbers were drawn into it and lost their all; and I lost \$5,000.

When I first engaged in business at Northampton, my brother Edward was in business, and doing well, at Stockbridge; was kind and rendered me important aid, which I held in grateful remembrance. He removed to Broome County, N. Y., about the year 1800, and was soon engaged in making pine lumber, on the Chenango and Susquehanna Rivers, and running it in rafts to Baltimore, in the spring freshets. He made it profitable for several successive years, and laid such inducements before me that I embarked largely with him in purchasing timber lands, building saw mills, establishing a store, and running the lumber to Baltimore. This last

was found to be hazardous; if concurring circumstances favored, the business was highly profitable ; but if the rivers were too high or too low, loss was incurred. After five or six years, that concern was closed with a loss of \$23,000 after disposing of the whole property.

(In the next pages, which will cover the remaining years spent in Massachusetts by Colonel William Edwards, I shall follow the account of William W. Edwards, written after reading his Father's manuscript, which he substantially incorporated in the narrative, adding much from his own knowledge and recollections.

WM. H. EDWARDS.)

While these last events were transpiring, in 1806, Colonel Edwards had induced his brother-in-law, Josiah Dwight, of Stockbridge, to close his business there and embark with him in the tanning, at Northampton. With the means thus acquired, under the firm name of Dwight and Edwards, he pushed the business. He extended his acquaintance with the dealers in New York, and took stock from Mr. Lorillard to tan by the pound, also sent his own stock there to a market. The firm had among their customers a young shoemaker residing in Worthington, twenty miles from

the tannery, who evinced industry and tact in his business, coming on horseback at short intervals for a few sides of leather, and punctually paying at each visit for his last previous purchase. The firm had felt the want of an agent in New York specially devoted to their business, and they selected this shoemaker, Gideon Lee, for the purpose, giving him \$1,000 a year salary. They were not mistaken in their judgment; the tact, talent, industry and integrity of Mr. Lee soon brought him position and wealth, and he eventually became the leader of the leather trade in his city.

While Colonel Edwards was a member of the Legislature, his partner, Mr. Dwight, was chosen Treasurer of the State. Upon this their connection was dissolved, and Mr. Dwight's place was supplied by Robert Burr Edwards, Colonel Edwards youngest brother, who had been educated in the counting house of Cornelius Dubois, of New York. While attending to his legislative duties, his acquaintance was extended among his fellow legislators and with the business men of Boston. Applications were before the legislature for various incorporations for manufacturing companies. Colonel Edwards conceived the idea of a leather manu-

facturing company, and obtained an act for the incorporation of the "Hampshire Leather Manuf. Co.", with a capital of \$100,000. He had previously erected, in connection with Spencer Clark, of Chester, Mass., and William Hubbard, of Cummington, two other tanneries, each of about the capacity of the one at Northampton. He sold the three to the new company, and contracted with it to give him a full supply of hides for each tannery at six cents a pound (for the finished leather), and one half the profits, the company to make the purchases and sales. This company was managed by a President, Treasurer and three Trustees, who together formed a Board, and their office was at Boston; Joseph Head, President; Eben'r Francis, Treasurer; Thomas C. Amory, Joseph Sewall and —— Belknap, Trustees or Directors. This contract went into effect in 1809. A large portion of the price of the tanning was payable when the hides were put in soak, and when they went upon the fourth layer. The business was successful and profitable, there being very little competition with them either in the Boston or New York market for hemlock sole leather. In February, 1811, a ship loaded with dry hides from Buenos Ayres was stranded in

New London harbor, and the hides were wet with salt water. The owners offered them to the company, who instructed Colonel Edwards to repair to the spot and examine the condition of the hides, and if he thought them a bargain, to buy them. He found the hides sound, but wet, and landed in that condition on the wharf. He purchased the lot at $6\frac{1}{4}$ cents per pound, got them dried for \$250, and as dry hides were worth 10 cents, made a clear profit of \$6,000 for the company in the transaction.

During the summer of 1811, his bark mills, 5 miles from the Northampton tannery, were destroyed by fire, together with 4,000 cords of bark, costing \$2 per cord,—the work of an incendiary. Having a full stock of hides in process of tanning, he set about a new supply of bark with his accustomed energy; was offered an oil mill $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles nearer the tannery, that could easily be altered into a bark mill, at a price he thought reasonable, purchased it and set about the necessary alterations. There was due him \$6,000 on his tanning; he wrote for \$3,000, and was astounded at the reply of the Treasurer, that he and the President had concluded not to furnish him any more money, until he

consented to have them send an agent in their confidence to disburse the funds. Alarmed at this, he hastened to Boston, and obtained a meeting of the Board to consider his necessities and his dues. Mr. Amory, who was the father of the enterprise, an upright, honorable man, as also was Mr. Sewall, and both his fast friends, after his statement had been made, and the correctness of it recognized by all, moved that he should be paid what he required within the contract, which passed and the payment was made. Mr. Amory invited him to his house, conversed with him about the business, and told him that Head, Francis, and Belknap seemed to be distrustful of his integrity, and apprehensive that the property of the Company was unsafe in his hands. That he himself was entirely satisfied of his integrity and capacity in the business, and that if the other proprietors were disposed to withdraw, he himself, with three or four friends, would take the whole concern to themselves. The business continued under Mr. Amory's protection through that year, and the next. Unhappily, in 1813, Mr. Amory died suddenly, and Mr. Edwards was left to the mercy of the trio.

Following the memoir:

Not long after the commencement of the war with Great Britain, the price of hides advanced from ten to thirteen and fourteen cents per pound. The Directors sent but partial supplies to the tannery, and in the spring of 1815, they refused to send another hide till the price fell again to ten cents. At the same time they withheld a balance of over \$6,000, already due me for tanning, and refused to divide any part of the profits of the six years business, done on a rising market, my share of which, as calculated by my brother Robert, a good accountant, was \$42,000.

Wm. W. Edwards continues:

Colonel Edwards had at this time a full supply of bark at each of the three tanneries, and more than fifty men employed in the business. He had borrowed money of various banks, on the credit of his house—Wm. and Robert B. Edwards—endorsed by his personal friends, to enable him to continue his preparations for, and to carry on, the business. He was prepared to tan 25,000 hides per annum, of an average of 24 pound weight, making 25 per cent gain, and the

amount he should have received was equal to \$45,000 per annum for the tanning alone.

But finding all efforts with the Directors useless, and his resources and dues all withheld, he was forced into bankruptcy, in 1815. His property of every description was seized by attachments, and sold by the Sheriff, leaving him only one cow and the few articles of furniture which in such case the law allowed. The Directors at once put their agents in possession of the yards and the untanned stock, men wholly unacquainted with the business, who proceeded to finish the tanning of the stock, charging all the expenses to Colonel Edwards' account. In winding up, the Directors made out a charge of seven cents per pound on the whole stock, absorbing thereby every dollar due Mr. Edwards, and they refused all division of the profits which had been made. Afraid to go to law with the Directors, the creditors accepted the Chester tannery, at a valuation of \$5,000, in full for all Mr. Edwards claims.

So the best contract ever made in the tanning business was forced to a premature close, to the ruin of him whose ability and industry had brought the business into being—at a time too when this company had

comparatively no opposition, had control of the markets of Boston and New York, and every facility for prosecuting a business profitable to all concerned.

It may be worth while to consider what could have been the motive which influenced the majority of these Directors to so ruinous a course of management. Colonel Edwards, as we have seen, was greatly embarrassed when he entered upon the contract with the company. His loss by fire, in 1811, increased his general indebtedness. By the contract, more than half the price for the tanning was to have been paid him in advance of the finished leather. The war was in progress, and in the opinion of all opposed to the war, among whom were these Directors, prices could not be maintained after the peace. They were prudent and calculating men, who did not mean to be caught with a heavy stock at the peace. They knew that Colonel Edwards was embarrassed and they were apprehensive that being forced to a failure, his materials, on which they had no lien, would be seized by creditors. Instead therefore of paying him at stated periods, as per the contract, what was due to him, thereby enabling him to escape from his difficulties, their hesitation

and timidity brought about the catastrophe they had been afraid of. They saved their capital, though it destroyed him. It was a cruel blow to him, but as we shall hereafter see, he was not utterly cast down. His abilities remained unimpaired, and friends in another quarter awaited the opportunity of putting them into profitable requisition.

Finding some difficulty in conducting the Chester tannery by a foreman, Colonel Edwards fitted up the boarding house there, and occupied it with his family in the spring of 1815, assuming the management himself.

Returning to the memoirs :

My failure took place in September, 1815, I got some work with the Glass Company in the neighborhood, and thus supported my family—Mrs. Edwards and five little children—as well as I could. I gave my mind to further improvements in tanning, and devised a plan of suspending the hides and treating them with a decoction of the bark, often changing the liquors, till they were tanned. In March, 1816, I went to New York, and laid my plan before Messrs. Cunningham and McCormick, who agreed to furnish me with thirty hides and a steam

heater to make the experiment, so soon as I could find a place to make a trial. In April, I found Captain Foster Morse, in Windham, Greene County, N. Y. He had called on me at Northampton some years before, and spent an hour with me ; this was my only acquaintance with him. He received me very kindly ; was aware of my misfortunes. I told him of my contemplated improvement in tanning by suspending the hides ; that I wanted a leach, and a vat of sufficient depth to fully extend the hides ; and that I wanted employment when not at work on my hides in order to support my family. That I had left my wife with five little children, and with a very limited supply of necessaries and six dollars in money, and I myself then had three dollars. Captain Morse smiled, and said he would make the leach and vat I wanted, and give me every accommodation to make the experiment ; also he would give me as much work as I could do. "But," said he "you need not feel so very poor. I owe you thirty dollars, and Mr. Pratt, in Lexington, three miles distant, owes you the same ; and several other tanners in this region are indebted to you." I asked him what he and others owed me for. He replied, for

using my rolling machine, which they all knew I had a patent for, and would pay me promptly for the right to use it. This was surely most gratifying intelligence. I wrote Messrs. Cunningham and McCormick to send the hides and the heater to Catskill, to Captain Morse's address. Captain Morse furnished me with a horse, and gave me a list of tanners who were using my improvements. I went as far west as Utica, was absent from Windham ten days, and collected \$140, besides \$30 from Captain Morse and as much from Mr. Pratt. This enabled me to aid my family, and remove them to Catskill, in a temporary residence.

(For my various improvements I had taken out patents, but such was the public prejudice against patents that I never hazarded a law suit. Neither Mr. Fulton, for the use of steam, or Mr. Whitney, for the cotton gin, had ever obtained a verdict. Any one who chose to do so used my improvements. In after years, I called on such as I conveniently could, and asked them to pay me something, even if little. I estimate my collections altogether at about \$2,500 for forty years of mental effort and expensive experiment. My patents certainly reduced the cost of tanning from twelve

cents per pound to four cents, the saving aggregating millions of dollars in leather sold in New York alone.)

I finished the thirty hides and returned the leather in October, and it was much approved of. How to employ myself and support my family during the winter I was utterly at a loss to conceive. But Mr. Jacob Lorillard offered me business if I could go to the State of Alabama, in the neighborhood of Mobile. He would pay my travelling expenses, and give me letters of credit; would pay Mrs. Edwards twenty dollars a month, and a certain sum to myself. I joyfully acceded to his proposition, and left New York, in November, for Charleston, S. C., proposing to cross the country from Charleston to Montgomery—on the Alabama River. But I found this route impracticable, and went to Havana and thence to New Orleans, thence to Mobile, and to a point ninety miles up the Tombigbee River. I got Mr. Lorillard's deed to 600 acres land, lying in Montgomery County, recorded; went upon the land and explored it, and returned to Mobile and New Orleans, which last place I reached the 10th of April; took passage to New York, arriving there about the 1st of May. I found my wife in feeble

health, having had a tedious winter, but the children were all well.

In August, 1816, finding my plan of tanning by suspending likely to succeed, with the approbation of Messrs. Cunningham and McCormick, I explored the Schoharie Kill from where Prattsville is now to the height of land in Hunter, wishing to find a good mill seat and plenty of hemlock bark ; and as near the Hudson River as I could find these advantages. I found a place to my mind in the southwest part of Hunter, but the owners were unknown. During my absence at the south, my son, William W., who was a clerk with Mr. Arthur Tappan, his uncle, discovered who were the owners, and went to Albany, and obtained an Act of Incorporation for Cunningham and McCormick, Gideon Lee, and others, for a leather manufacturing company ; authorizing a capital of \$60,000, with right to hold 1200 acres of land. The land cost two dollars per acre. The company organized, and such arrangements were made, that I commenced operations by preparing to build a tannery in the midst of a dense hemlock forest, in the first days of July, 1817.

William W. Edwards writes of this period :

The family were settled in a small tenement, about half way up the hill between Catskill and Jefferson, the only vacant house to be found, and were treated with great kindness and hospitality by the good people of Catskill. Just at this time, myself and brother Henry, who resided with his uncle, Lewis Tappan, at Boston, made a fortunate speculation in silk twist buttons, then becoming fashionable, by which we realized more than \$200 profit. This we appropriated to the comfort of our mother and the children, by purchasing various articles of common furniture, and clothing, and provisions. The site spoken of in the memoir, selected for the tannery, was at the "Red Falls" of the Schoharie Kill. Nearly all the region was wild land, abounding in beautiful groves of hemlock timber. It was on a tract owned by the late Edward Livingston, which had been heavily mortgaged to French refugees, who had returned to France and died. No title could be had for the area we wanted. One Roger Bronson, a squatter, had erected a common saw mill at the head of the Falls, and a board shanty on the bank. It was ascertained, in New York, that measures were being taken to foreclose the mortgages, that the land would be brought into market

in the spring, and that we could probably obtain what we wanted.

On my father's leaving for the south, the family were removed to Catskill, and occupied one half the house owned by Deacon Thayer, on the main street.

There was a general law in the State of New York for creating incorporations for manufacturing certain articles therein named, of which leather was not one. It was thought best to obtain an extension of this law to leather in a quiet way, and to form a company under the law so amended. Special incorporations were difficult to obtain, and one for manufacturing sole leather it was feared might rouse all the tanners in the State in opposition. A bill was introduced early in the session by Judge Ogden Edwards, cousin of my father, to extend the privileges of this law to "morocco and other leather." It hung in the Senate, and no account could be had of it in New York. Meantime the lands were advertised, and the parties were prepared to form the company. On the 1st of April, I left New York on the first steamboat of the season, landed at Athens (30 miles from Albany), and travelled till 12 o'clock the second night in an open wagon to Albany. The session

was to close on the 15th. I found Martin Van Buren, Moses J. Cantine, and Judge Ogden Edwards, and Lucius Elmendorf, of Ulster County, members of the Senate, all of whom kindly lent their aid to get the bill along. The bill was supported by a petition from all of the principal inhabitants of Catskill. I had the happiness of seeing it become a law the day before the adjournment. The following is a copy:

1. Be it enacted by the people of the State of New York, &c. That from and after the passage of this Act, it shall and may be lawful for any five or more persons who shall be desirous of forming a company for the purpose of manufacturing Morocco or other leather to associate together and form such company according to the directions and restrictions mentioned in the Act entitled, &c., &c.

Provided, nevertheless, that no company or companies who shall become a body corporate under this Act, shall be allowed to locate their establishment in any other counties than Greene and Delaware; and also that the capital stock of any such company shall not exceed the sum of sixty thousand dollars; and

Provided, further, that it shall be lawful for the Legislature, at any time after two

years, to dissolve any incorporations which may be formed under this Act.

The restricting clause was inserted to pacify Judge Elmendorf, who declared in his place, that "if the people of Greene and Delaware wanted the tanners established there, they might have them; but he had no idea of allowing them to come into Ulster and Sullivan Counties and destroy all the beautiful timber." Years after, when the New York Tannery was in full operation, as Judge Elmendorf was passing on horseback to his lands at the village of Prattsville, he met the writer of this in front of the Tannery, and drawing up his horse and half turning in the saddle, he said: "What fine works you have erected here, Mr. Edwards! a beautiful place you have made of it! You should have looked at our lands in Ulster before you located, where you would have found plenty of bark and water, and no mountains to climb!" "Ah! Judge, we might have done so, but you know you shut us out in the Bill," was my reply. "I really did not know what it would come to," was his rejoinder, "but I greatly regret it now."

The lands were brought forward in due

time. We had ascertained that Joseph Bouchaud, of New York, and Anthony Laussat, of Philadelphia, the agents of the owners, would buy the lands in at anything less than one dollar per acre, and that the two tracts, one in Greene and one in Delaware, would be sold in a body. We therefore made a verbal agreement with Mr. Bouchaud to withhold our bids and allow him to buy in the lands, and give us 2500 acres, including the Red Falls, at two dollars per acre. I myself went upon the lands and explored them thoroughly, and selected the required quantity in a body from the town map. The sale came off at the old Tontine Coffee House, and the agents bought it in at 25 cents per acre (the only bid) in their own names. We had supposed it was to have been purchased for the owners, but it was held as a speculation by the agents, and they sold much of it at four and five dollars per acre.

In May or June, 1817, the New York Tannery Company was formed under the manufacturing law as amended, with a capital of \$60,000, which was subscribed in equal sums by Gideon Lee, Cunningham and McCormick, Wm. Bayard, and Herman Le Roy, all of New York, and Joseph Xifre,

of Cuba. There was delay in executing the deeds for the land purchased, and as the season was getting late for peeling bark, we took a contract from Mr. Bouchaud for the 2500 acres, entered into possession, and began operations; I leaving my situation in New York to assist my father. In August, the agents came upon the land, and finding the squatters who had settled here and there were willing to pay four and five dollars for lots, Laussat refused to ratify the contract. As we had then expended some thousands of dollars, we accepted half the quantity, that being the best we could do. The preceding season was the famous "cold summer," with short crops. There was no bread, grain or potatoes, in that section, and we had to bring supplies, even oats for our horses, from New York. The roads over the mountains were primitive, and of very steep grades. It cost 50 cents to transport 100 pounds from Catskill, twenty miles. There were no carpenters or mill wrights in the region, and we had to bring both from Massachusetts. We bought out Bronson by giving him a lot of 140 acres, worth \$4 per acre, for his mill and shanty. For the first few days we boarded at the log tavern kept by Sumner Parmenter, a mile up the

Creek. (This was on the property of late year's known as Breeze Lawn, at the east end of Hunter Village.) Our first effort was to get lumber and boards for building. We purchased two yoke of oxen, hired as many men as we could get, cut and hauled in the logs from which the bark had been peeled. We soon had a dining room alongside of Bronson's shanty, and bunks for the men in the loft. We brought our supplies from the river, and landed them against a stump while the temporary store building was being sided up. But the goods were got in before night and locked up. Next day we put on the roof, made a rough counter and a few shelves, and had standing room enough to accommodate half a dozen men.

We had decided on the plan for the tannery, by which all operations were to be carried on within one building; set men at work to clear the ground and prepare the foundation. All the land was heavily timbered, and on the flat was swampy. We marked out the main street (of Hunter Village), and began to build on it as soon as the land was cleared sufficiently. First, a barn, 30x40; then a boarding house, 24x40, one and a-half story; next, a substantial store and office, 20x40; and finally

the tannery, 200x36, to begin with. With all our efforts, we were only able to make these buildings comfortable before winter set in. Great care was taken to construct the tannery in such a manner as to bring all my father's improvements into the most convenient situation for economical use. The beam house and two hide mills were in the lower end of the building, on the ground floor ; the rolling machine in the loft above. Next to the beam house were the vats for suspending the hides, with the leaches at the upper end, on the creek side ; the bark mill on the floor of the loft overhead, arranged so that the ground bark was deposited by elevators directly over the leaches. It was intended to dispense with "handling" altogether, the calculation being that the time required to tan the stock would be so much reduced that less vat room would be needed. The sides were passed through the beam house by the usual method of liming and beating, and were stretched the length of the vats about one inch apart as they came from the beam house ; and when the vats were thus filled liquor from the leaches was run on to cover the whole. It was found that the leather tanned in much shorter time (indeed 60

days was long enough for middle weight sides), but the position tended to strain the fibres, so that the backs were thin and the bellies thick, and the gravity of the tannin downward fixed the weight in the bellies and flanks, instead of the backs, where it was wanted. It was found also that whenever one side touched another, the tannin did not penetrate, but a white space, untanned, discovered itself. Finally, the weight of the leather was less by ten per cent. than it should have been. We tried experiments, hoping to overcome the difficulties, but at last were compelled to abandon the new plan altogether, and resort to the old method of "handlers" and "laying away." This required more vat room. The saw mill was taken down, the ground it occupied was filled with large vats, and the tannery was extended till at length the main building was 500 feet long, and a second building near and parallel with it at its upper end 200 by 36 feet.

The tannery was intended for manufacturing 5,000 hides per annum, and a contract had been made by the Company with Wm. Edwards & Son to tan that number at five and one half cents per pound, taking the hides from, and returning the leather to,

New York. Finding that with small addition to the tannery, we could tan 10,000 as well as 5,000, and bark being abundant and cheap, we asked the Company to increase their stock to that quantity, or to allow us to tan for other parties. They declined to do either. In our contract, we had bound ourselves to take the tannery off the Company's hands at a specified time, at a valuation ; and in anticipation of such event we had built substantial dwellings for ourselves at our own expense. We therefore, in 1822, urged the Trustees to name the terms on which they would sell, although the time limit had not been reached. My brother, Ogden E. Edwards, had now become of age, and his employer, Jacob Lorillard, was willing to give us all the stock we wanted. He had in fact purchased a cargo of hides at a low rate on purpose to give them to us. After consultation, the Trustees gave us a price, \$10,000, in approved paper, at twelve months, and adjourned for one day. At the meeting then held, the President inquired if we accepted the terms, when I handed him the acceptance of Mr. Lorillard for the sum fixed on. The Trustees were taken by surprise, but received the paper, and in due time transferred to us all the Company's real estate

in Hunter. Mr. Lorillard required no mortgage or other security. We obtained a loan of \$6,000 on the property, tanned the stock for Mr. Lorillard, and from that time to 1837, the tannery was supplied with full stock of hides by Mr. Lorillard and his successors, at six cents per pound.

Tanneries began to increase all around us, and the price of leather fell in consequence. In 1825, a proposition was made me to remove to New York, and engage in the importing of French goods, in connection with Joseph Barrell, a grandson of the Mr. Barrell mentioned in the memoir, which I embraced, leaving the business at Hunter with my father, who prosecuted it until 1830, when the tannery was utterly destroyed by fire, together with a large stock of bark and wood. Immediate measures were taken to rebuild on an improved plan, and the new buildings were considerably larger than the old. After this my father took his nephew, Frederic Tyler, into copartnership, and the business was continued with renewed energy.

Following the memoir :

My unfortunate friends, in Massachusetts, who had suffered by their responsibilities for

me, or many of them, pressed me for relief. I assured them that my unalterable determination was, so soon as I could earn any sum worth distributing among them, to give up to my former creditors every dollar I possessed. Only one suit was brought against me, and that for a small sum, such was the confidence my former friends had in my intentions. The Bankrupt act was taken advantage of by me at the requirement of the Trustees in the New York Tannery, not for the purpose of cutting off the claims, but to shield me from useless suits and expenses. But, in 1834, I was sued upon a note for \$6,000, with many years interest, by a friend who had endorsed it, and who was discouraged about waiting longer for a final dividend. This suit led me to make an arrangement with the Hon. James Powers, of Catskill, to receive an assignment of every species of property which I possessed, for the benefit of my former creditors, to be distributed among them pro rata. Mr. Powers would undertake only to dispose of the property and pay over the proceeds to such persons as should be agreed upon to make the distribution. The Hon. Lewis Strong and Mr. David S. Whitney, of Northampton, and my son, Ogden E. Edwards,

were selected. Mr. Whitney was obliged to remove to a milder climate, and Ogden, after a time, declined. The agents were authorized to fill any vacancy that might occur in their number, and they substituted Mr. Eliphalet Williams in place of the two others. My sons, Henry and Alfred, offered to purchase of Mr. Powers all my real estate on a valuation, payable in six years, secured by their joint note and a mortgage on the property. I myself, by the aid of friends, purchased the personal property, and paid Mr. Powers for it. The Court (at Catskill), decided, without giving the case to the jury, that the \$6,000 note, on which suit had been brought, was outlawed. This decision of the Court bore upon every one of the old claims against me. To meet the payments for the real estate, Henry and Alfred put a capital into Ogden's hands to be invested in hides, which I was to tan, the profits on which would meet their note and mortgage before maturity. The severe mercantile pressure from 1837 to 1842 greatly cramped their resources. Under the circumstances Mr. Powers felt justified in giving them an extension of several years time. In the autumn of 1845, I met Mr. Powers on board a Hudson River steamboat, and our inter-

view led me to write Mr. Strong a letter, of which the following is a copy:

BROOKLYN, Dec. 15th, 1845.

HON. LEWIS STRONG.

DEAR SIR :—I lately met Mr. Powers, and was glad to hear from him that he had closed his prolonged labor in the agency he kindly undertook, at my earnest solicitation, in aiding to adjust the distribution of my acquisitions among my unfortunate creditors, in conjunction with yourself and Mr. Williams; and was pleased to hear him express his gratification with the uprightness and good faith with which the whole transaction had been conducted. So painful is the subject—even now, thirty years after the catastrophe—that I bring the events to my mind, or any thing appertaining to them, as seldom as possible. Still I take the liberty of making a few brief inquiries of you, and to tender to you and Mr. Williams my sincere thanks for your kind and friendly co-operation with Mr. Powers in the transactions, many of which must have been unpleasant and painful. Will you please to inform me whether yourself and Mr. Williams have wholly closed the distribution, and what amount passed through your hands. Every one who is so unfortunate as to be unable to pay his debts, I well know is the subject of slander. I have ever been sustained by a conscience void

of offence, upon this distressing business. I erred exceedingly in judgment, but not in honesty of intention.

Very respectfully and gratefully,
your obedient servant,
WILLIAM EDWARDS.

I give Mr. Strong's reply:

NORTHAMPTON, Jan'y 8, 1846.

WILLIAM EDWARDS, ESQ.

DEAR SIR:—I received your obliging letter of the 15th December, and but for the pressure of other engagements should gladly have replied to it at an earlier day. The effort you have made, in conjunction with your sons, for the relief of those of your creditors who had suffered by your failure, in 1815, was in my judgment a noble one, and entitled you, especially considering your age, your repeated disasters afterwards, and the long period which has elapsed since the occurrence of that event, to their affectionate and most grateful acknowledgments. The deed of assignment, you know was dated in 1834, and the commencement of the distribution so long delayed, and it occupied when begun a period so much longer than any one anticipated at the outset, that no doubt a good deal of unpleasant feeling may have been occasionally indulged, which under more favorable circumstances would have been

avoided. But the result, though slowly reached, was rendered—perhaps by the very tardiness of the process—doubly welcome; and any suggestions which may possibly have been thrown out in the course of it, impeaching in any degree your own good faith, or the good faith of your sons, must now be deeply regretted, as having been, under the peculiar circumstances of the case, entirely unwarrantable and unjust.

The first dividend was made in August, 1839; the final one, April, 1844. The whole sum divided has been \$25,924.33. Permit me to express to you, my dear sir, my most cordial congratulations that you have been permitted, in the kindness of Providence, to give to your creditors such substantial evidence that you were sincerely desirous of doing everything within the compass of your ability for their relief.

Very truly your friend
and obedient servant,
LEWIS STRONG.

William W. Edwards says of these transactions:

Thus at the advanced age of sixty-four years, my father voluntarily surrendered a flourishing business to do what he could to repay the indebtedness from which he had legally been discharged sixteen years before.

Continuing:

For some years he occupied the dwelling house at Hunter, which he had erected in 1818. As most of his children had settled in New York and Brooklyn, he and my mother were induced to remove to Brooklyn, and lived with their daughter Elizabeth (later Mrs. Henry Rowland), and son, Richard C. Edwards, the remainder of their lives.

Farther notes by Wm. W. Edwards:

My father's early training was of the strictest Puritan character. His mother never allowed an opportunity to say a "word in season" to all with whom she was brought in contact to pass unimproved. In the midst of the gayeties I have mentioned her son William never forgot his mother's counsels. At the commencement of his married life, he instituted family worship, though at that time he was not a professing Christian, and he maintained the habit till his death. It was his practice when he boarded his apprentices and workmen at Northampton, his wife and family sitting at the same table with them, to invoke the Divine blessing upon the meal provided, and breakfast was followed by reading from the Bible

and a prayer before they separated. In 1810, he made a public profession, and united with the First (Congregational) Church, at Northampton. His residence at Hunter was on missionary ground. No church going bell had ever been heard in that part of the valley. During the first year, he boarded with his workmen, and at once established the same rules as to daily worship which he had observed at Northampton. On Sunday, services were held in the dining room of the boarding house, and in these he was aided by individuals among his assistants and workmen. The people of the village were invited to join in these exercises and did so habitually. During the summer, seats were arranged in the loft of the tannery building, and the services were held there. Finally, a spacious room was set off in the extreme end of the "new yard" as the last addition was termed, and fitted with desk and permanent seats for a meeting room. In 1820, a church was formed, with twelve members, Presbyterian, and my father was chosen the first ruling elder, a position which he held until he removed to New York. In 1822 or 1823, a minister was settled, and, in 1826, a commodious parsonage was built. To this my father gave twenty acres of meadow

land, to remain in perpetuity attached to the parsonage. A church soon followed, nearly all the cost of it contributed by himself and his friends, and weekly worship has continued therein to this day. On his removal to New York, my father attended Dr. Erskine Mason's church in Bleecker St., and took part as a teacher in the Sunday School there. On going to Brooklyn, he transferred his relations to the church of Dr. Sam'l H. Cox, and when the building was sold to the Plymouth congregation, he and my mother united with the new assembly, under Rev. Henry Ward Beecher. In May, 1848, they removed to 67 Remsen St., a few doors from the Church of the Pilgrims, of which Rev. Dr. Storrs was pastor, and they united with this congregation and remained members of it so long as they lived.

During the last years my father withdrew from all active labor, devoting his time to reading and meditation, and to works of benevolence. For years his health had been good, but in the fall of 1851, it gradually declined, though he was not confined to his bed till two days before he died. He was fully sensible of his approaching end, and remarked to the members of his family that death seemed to him like going from

one room of his father's house to another. He died on the 30th day of December, 1851, in the 82nd year of his age, and his remains, together with those of my mother, who followed him March 27th, 1857, lie in the family lot on Chestnut Hill, Greenwood Cemetery.

In his prime my father was an active politician, a Federalist, later a Whig. At the last annual State election before his death he deposited his vote,*for the sixty-first time, never having failed to vote in any one year after he became of age. He was fond of reading, a friend of education, and very hospitable. He was especially condescending to the young ; was the invariable friend of young mechanics; was an attentive and loving husband, a devoted father, a faithful friend, a consistent patriot, and a Christian gentleman.

Note by W. H. Edwards:

I append a few lines taken from an address delivered by Hon. Gideon Lee, heretofore mentioned in these memoirs, before the Electic Fraternity, at New York, on 14th February, 1838, in which attention was called to the improvements made by Col. William Edwards in the process of tanning.

“The time allotted me will not permit a detailed description of the improvements made within the last

thirty years in the construction of tanneries; the labor saving machinery, the new forms, modes, and uses of hydraulics and water power brought into general use; the application of steam, and of heat in other forms; the new and speedy mode of extracting the tannin from the crude bark. Such is the extent of these improvements, that, whereas the tanner of thirty years ago could not afford his leather for less than six or eight cents per pound advance on the cost of the dry Spanish hides, the tanner of the present day can and does afford to sell his leather for an advance of from three to four cents per pound on the cost of such hides. * * * The invention and application of these important improvements in tanning originated chiefly with Col. Wm. Edwards, now of Greene County, in this State; and not unlike most other cases of great projectors and mental laborers, the benefits or profits from these vast improvements are to the nation as millions, but to the coffers of Mr. Edwards comparatively as units. I think I am not extravagant at rating the benefits of his improvements at millions. They have spread, and have been adopted in some sort a measure in all the States where leather is manufactured."

Mrs. Maria Edwards Park, of Andover, Mass., 1892, has written some account of her first recollections of Hunter. "My first visit to Hunter was in the winter of 1817-18, in company with my brothers, Amory and Alfred. I was six, Amory was four, and Alfred was several years older.

Father was living in the boarding house which he had built for the workmen, and our old servant Sena (later Schermerhorn), was housekeeper and took care of us. We drove from Catskill in a sleigh, and I was so much astonished at the high mountains that I asked Alfred if we should ever come down again. The house stood in a small clearing in what is now the village of Hunter, near the south end of the present bridge over the Schoharie Creek. Wild animals were plenty, deer, wolves, bear. I remember that on one morning my father called to what he supposed were dogs about the house, but which turned out to be wolves. We staid there about two months, and returned to Catskill. A year or two later we spent a summer at the "Shaw farm," three miles west of the tannery, on the road to Catskill, while father was building a house to live in. When this was done, Amory and I were tied into a big arm chair, and put in the front of the last load of furniture, and so made our entry into Hunter.

We went to school at nearly a mile from the tannery, in what is now the upper end of the village, and had to pass through a broad strip of woods. I remember with gratitude to this day a woman who lived

close to the edge of the woods, and who many times took her baby and went through the dreaded darkness with us. On one occasion Amory and I, inside the woods, heard a great crackling, and ran back terrified, sure that a bear was following us. By good fortune, we met father and told him our story. He reassured us, and himself went through the woods with us. We found that a man, burning brush in a clearing he was making, had caused the noise that terrified us. But undoubtedly the passage was more or less dangerous. Besides bear and wolves, wildcats that year had been especially numerous. Deer were always in plenty. At one time my brothers had five fawns which they had found in the forest and brought home.

My mother found the life very lonely, especially when it became necessary to send the older children away to school and business. She was the only physician within twenty miles, or nearer than Catskill, and people came to her from far and near for advice and medicine.

The first time I remember going to church was to see Richard baptised, in 1820. Father had taken down the sides of leather from part of the drying loft. Benches were put in and service was held there every

Sunday. He read sermons himself, when no one was at hand to preach. On this occasion, Dr. Porter came from Catskill to officiate, and well I remember the scene, the baby and the parents, and the many men standing among the sides and beams. Soon after that a room was specially prepared for service, and it was used for some years, and until the village church was built, about 1827. In that room several men who afterwards became celebrated, preached their first sermons; as Albert Barnes, Professor White, of the New York Theological Seminary, Professor Porter, of Williams College.

I add a few notes respecting my grandfather, William Edwards, and my early recollections of Hunter.

W. H. E.

My father, William W. Edwards, moved his family from New York City to Hunter, May, 1829; I then being seven years old; and my parents lived there thenceforth for upwards of twenty years. We left New York one evening, about the first of May, by the steamboat Albany, were landed at Bristol, before daylight, by a small boat; found the "carryall" on the dock, with several wagons for the effects of the family,

and at once started for the mountains. Stopped to rest and feed the horses at the widow Palen's, at the foot of the mountain by the Clove road, and in course of the afternoon reached Hunter, and my father's house, which he had built near his father's, 1821-2. These houses were on the north side of the public road, and to the east on this side but one other house was standing, then recently built by Captain Frederick Tyler, cousin of my father. Opposite this house, with an open space in front, stood the village church, built two years before ; and some thirty rods above, the house occupied by Deacon Case, one of the bosses in the tannery. That was the extreme limit of the tannery village to the east. To the west of my grandfather's, stood at a small interval the company store, and beyond it a large barn, and the boarding house, which was kept by John Lockwood. Near this was a house occupied by Mr. Fannin, another of the tannery bosses. Directly opposite grandfather's house, next the creek, four hundred feet away, stood the tannery, composed of a two story building about five hundred feet long, and a detached second, one story, building at the eastern end, and parallel to the other. This was

one hundred and fifty feet long. Between these buildings and the street were several "bark sheds," great framed structures, in which bark and wood were piled. The Worcester's Gazetteer of that day, under the head of "Hunter," reported "the largest tannery in the United States." Down the creek—to the west—were eight or nine small, neat, houses, occupied by the workmen and their families. Half way between my father's house and the church, on the south side of the street, stood the school house, about 20x30 feet, equipped with a broad sloping board next the wall on the two long sides, and wooden benches, without backs. No blackboard, no maps or globes, no anything to interest the weary little scholars. This school house was used for prayer meetings at least twice every week, and in certain seasons of religious fervor, two or three times more, and we children were always compelled to be on hand. Some of these buildings are standing to-day, but every vestige of the tannery has gone, and its place is occupied by a large furniture factory. The plain little village in the forest has grown to be a place of summer resort, filled up with hotels and boarding houses. At the time of which I am writing,

an unbroken primeval forest covered the mountains to the south, coming close down to the creek. On the north side, considerable clearing had been done, but the woods in most places came to the foot of the hill, and the cleared land bristled with stumps. The mountain chain along the south of the creek embraces most of the highest peaks of the Catskills—Round Top, High Peak, and the peak directly in front of the village, now known as one of the loftiest of all, Hunter Mountain, or Mt. Guyot. The chain retreats here somewhat to both the east and the west, and this mountain stands at the angle, and is therefore prominent ; and it is also of graceful outline. The top on the eastern side has a deep excavation suggestive of a seat, and this has, during all my recollection, gone by the name of the “Colonel’s Chair,” from my grandfather. The wasteful mode of getting bark, great trees felled and left to rot, after stripping, led to the many disastrous fires which swept through the forest year after year, destroying often hundreds of cords of bark and stove-wood, besides vast areas of valuable timber. So that from the time I first knew the region, it was but a few years before the border of the living forest had

retreated up the mountain sides, and there was a large extent of land that gradually was cleared up, and occupied by farmers. But the beauty of the mountains had departed forever.

The only outlet was by the road to the Hudson River, and between 1817 and 1829, a turnpike had taken the place of the primitive track by which the new settlers had climbed the mountains. This forked at the bottom of the Kaaterskill cove, one branch running to Catskill, the other to Bristol, ten miles below Catskill, on the river. To Bristol nearly all the leather manufactured was carried in wagons, and hides and supplies brought back. From Bristol to New York, all traffic was by sloops.

Nothing especial occurred to impress itself on my mind until the burning of the tannery and all the adjacent sheds, in the summer of 1830. It was soon after the afternoon session of the school had begun that the alarm was given. The fire originated near the "heaters," and as every beam in that part of the tannery was coated deeply with a dust which had accumulated from the grinding of the bark, along which the fire flew as if it had been powder or petroleum, there was no possibility of doing any thing except to save

such stock as was drying in the loft, and could be dragged out by hand. It was a magnificent sight to the children, and we had very little realization of the loss that was occurring. I stood on the porch of my grandfather's house, and I well remember his coming up the flight of steps, haggard, exhausted, with the words, "I am fifty-eight years old, and everything I have is lost." His daughter, Mrs. Park, says, that he then went into the house and called on one of his children to read aloud the prayer of Agar.

There was no insurance on the tannery, but his sons, Henry, Alfred and Ogden, furnished the money to rebuild it, and before many days the village was crowded with carpenters and laborers ; and every mill in all that region was engaged in cutting lumber, and every team in hauling it to the ground for the new tannery. Thereafter the business was carried on by Edwards and Tyler.

Grandfather was always kind to us children, questioned us about our lessons, and I remember, mortified me exceedingly in the presence of some strangers because I could not tell off hand where was the "Black River Country." I fancy few adults now

can answer that dreadful question. When I went away to school, age ten, he wrote me a letter enjoining on me to learn by heart the Assembly's (longer) catechism before I should return home, in which event I should receive something stipulated as a reward. I tugged at the thing as Theseus tugged at the rock under which lay hidden his father's sword, and mastered it, but I am sorry to have to say that when I came home grandfather had apparently forgotten the matter, and I was too shy to remind him of it.

It was the year of the fire that my great aunt Anne, or "Nancy," as she was always called, came over from Northampton and was married to Mr. Williams, at grandfather's house.

Grandfather carried on very large farming operations, as was necessary because of the vast stock of hay and oats required to feed the many horses and oxen employed in hauling bark and wood to the tannery. He delighted in good horses, and one time with another had some very valuable animals. The sons William and Henry had presented their mother with a Boston made vehicle, probably fashionable about 1820, called a "carryall." This often did duty in journeys

to Catskill. Grandfather was of great stature and of dignified appearance, and a masterful man, and always meant to have his own way—generally succeeded in that respect too; though very early I noticed that my grandmother, who was small, quiet, undemonstrative, had her way of bringing him to her views, whenever it became necessary. At Hunter he was always addressed as Colonel Edwards, but when spoken of, was the “old Colonel,” in distinction from my father, who so long as he lived there was known as “the young Colonel.”

After his removal to Brooklyn I used frequently to call on my grandparents. Grandfather was always interested in the current news of the day, and wanted to hear what was doing. He was full of anecdotes: often quoted his father, Timothy, whose wise and pithy sayings he had ever ready at command; loved to discourse of his Northampton friends. I remember he was never tired of telling of Eben Hunt and his jokes, practical and other, and from all accounts, I judge that Hunt's contemporaries found him as good as a circus.

But in these last years, I was impressed with one thing, that grandfather was fading away from sheer want of active occupation.

And it seems to me now that a serious mistake was made by his children in allowing him in the prime of his life to surrender his business, and to be compelled into a condition of bodily and mental inactivity. With his frame and constitution he would probably have lived ten years longer, under better conditions.

In copying the memoirs, I have been surprised at the correctness of the orthography, and the felicity of expression. The manuscript contains almost no erasures, and not a word too much. The writer had clearly in view just what he wanted to say, and intuitively said it in the best way. This is remarkable, considering the disadvantage he labored under when a child in getting any education at all, as related in the memoir. It shows the capacity of the man, and the retentiveness of his memory, that mostly by reading and thought he had attained such literary excellence.

He was a good and a great man; of enormous energy, indomitable courage, and possessed singular inventive power; was an affectionate husband and father, and a trusty friend. His descendants may well revere his memory.

To the memoirs I append some particulars respecting the children of William and Rebecca Tappan Edwards.

William W., the eldest son, was born in 1796. He has spoken for himself of his early years in the foregoing pages. In 1821, he married Helen Ann Mann, daughter of Jonas Mann, of Brattleboro', Vt. After a few years at Hunter with his father, as recorded, he removed to New York, and was one of the firm of Barrell & Edwards, in the straw goods business, at 117 Pearl street, Hanover Square. He and Mrs. Edwards became members of the Presbyterian Church, under the charge of Rev. Matthias Bruen. Mr. Edwards was one of the founders of the American Tract Society, and also of the New York Mercantile Library. In 1829, the family returned to Hunter, where Mr. Edwards again engaged in tanning. He was an ardent politician, a Whig, but lived in a Democratic town and county. Nevertheless, he was more than once elected Supervisor of the town, and once represented Greene County in the Assembly of the State. He was an active member of the church, and foremost in every good work. About 1850, he removed to New York, and was for some years engaged in

insurance. The last years of his life were spent in Brooklyn. He obtained a charter for the Dime Savings Bank, and himself, with his brother-in-law, Henry Rowland, and a few friends, organized that institution in 1859, he acting as Treasurer and Cashier. They began business in a single room, on Joralemon street, near the City Hall, Mr. Edwards and a single clerk for some time being the efficient staff. This Bank grew rapidly in public favor, and to-day is one of the most prominent of its kind in Greater New York. For about twelve years, Mr. Edwards was the Treasurer, until age rendered it advisable that he should retire from all active business. Mr. Edwards joined the church presided over by Rev. Henry Ward Beecher, on his coming to Brooklyn. He died March 10, 1876, in the 80th year of his age. Mrs. Edwards survived him by twelve years, during which period she lived with her daughter, Mrs. Mary Edwards Foster, at Clifton Springs, New York. Their remains lie in Greenwood Cemetery, Brooklyn, in company with several of their children, and also with their parents, William and Rebecca.

Mr. Edwards was a man of untiring energy and great executive capacity ; and

like several of these brothers, possessed great kindness of heart. He was never weary of doing any thing in his power to oblige his friends or neighbors.

When a young man, at Hunter, he organized a company of riflemen, not one of them under six feet in height ; furnished them himself with materials for handsome uniforms ; and on one occasion marched at their head to Catskill, twenty miles, where they made a creditable appearance, as the writer was long ago informed by some who had been lookers on. He was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel in the State militia by Governor Throop and hence the title by which he was known throughout Green County, "Colonel Edwards."

Henry, the second son, was born in 1798. He died in Boston, September 23, 1885, in his 87th year. "The Independent" of December 3, 1885, said of him : "The many public trusts which were committed to Mr. Edwards, and the manner in which he fulfilled them, show that he was no ordinary man. Member of the City Government for nine years ; ten years a member of the Board of Trustees of the Massachusetts General Hospital ; forty years a Trustee of Amherst College ; Member from Boston of

the Massachusetts House of Representatives ; Allotment Commissioner for Massachusetts in the late War ; nominated by Governor Andrew, and appointed by President Lincoln, to visit the volunteer regiments of the State, and bring home their pay to their families ; Trustee, by appointment of Governor Andrew, for the Soldiers' National Cemetery, at Gettysburg, and, by appointment of Governor Bullock, of the Cemetery at Antietam—these many and important public trusts indicate the confidence which was reposed both in his ability and integrity. In like manner he was honored and trusted by the church of which he was a member (Central Congregational Church).

But a few weeks before his death, at my suggestion, Mr. Edwards wrote somewhat of his personal experiences and recollections, which I give.

I was born in Northampton, October 22, 1798. Attended the public school of the town during my early years, a large house, in the center of the town. Each family sent a load of wood for each scholar, which was piled by itself in the space before the house. It stood on the Main street, with stately elm trees in front of it, at the

corner of what is now King street. In this street the dwelling of President Edwards was located, a quarter of a mile north of the school house. Here also the parents of President Dwight and our grandparents, Benjamin Tappan and wife, resided, and here the larger number of the Tappan children were born. During the revolutionary war, upon the invasion of Burgoyne, a company of militia from Northampton went to join the continental army, near Saratoga, and grandfather Tappan was the paymaster of the company. They arrived however after Burgoyne's surrender. After that event, a large body of the Hessian prisoners were at Northampton,—it was said that sixty of them were there. Several of them were living during my early days, and were usefully employed.

Our mother was the first of the Tappan ladies to be married, and at the age of eighteen she assumed the charge of the large family of her husband, who lived on Elm street, at corner of the street leading up to Round Hill. He boarded all his workmen. In her younger days, mother visited her Homes relatives in Boston, going there by stage, and was three days on the way. Her father accompanied her on horseback,

always joining her at night, he carrying his money, which was in silver, the currency of the country, in saddle bags. He was in trade in Northampton about the year 1765. His stock was largely of fine hardware, and on my birth-day I remember calling on him, and getting a knife, as a birth-day present.

Having so many men in the family our parents made an arrangement with an aged couple, Ebenezer Parsons and wife, living in the next town, to take William and myself to board, we to attend the neighboring district school,—I being five to six, and William two years older. On an occasion of a visit from our uncle Lewis Tappan, we urged him to take us to Northampton, and I well recollect my riding in front of him on the horse and William behind. I think we were with our good friends more than a year, and afterwards attended the Public School at Northampton. About 1810, I went to Portsmouth, N. H., and attended the school kept by my mother's uncle, Amos Tappan, boarding in his family part of the time, and part with my uncle Charles Tappan, who had a bookstore there. Aunt Tappan (née Ann Long) had several brothers, and her father being a large ship-owner, one

of them, John C. Long, was much in boats, sailing on the river, and I accompanied him. He entered the navy as midshipman in 1812, and became in time a Commodore, the highest rank then in the United States Navy. He brought Kossuth to this country, on his escape from the Austrian authorities.

In 1813, I was at the Leicester academy, and that autumn entered the store of Tappan and Searl, of Boston, on my 15th birthday, living in the family of my uncle (Lewis Tappan), who that summer had married Miss Susannah Aspinwall of Brookline. She was very kind to me, during my five year's residence in her family. My life in Boston commenced during the war with Great Britain, and the firm I was with was largely engaged in the importation of English goods. They received them from Nova Scotia, and Canada, shipped in the name of their London bankers, as a protection against capture by English vessels. Our firm joined another, in same business, each putting in \$45,000, and a member of this other firm went to England, where he made the purchases and shipped the goods. These came to Montreal and thence through Lake Champlain, in a sloop under Swedish colors, the English authorities conniving at the deception, in

order to encourage their manufactures. The American Government wanted the revenue from the trade, as well as the articles for consumption. The goods were sold at auction in New York by John Howe & Sons. I remember that pins sold at \$4.50 per pack, their present value being not far from 45 cents. The other goods were in proportion, and the profit to each of the two houses was \$52,000.

At that period, the duty in stores which now devolves on porters, of opening and closing, making fires, carrying out goods, etc., so far as able, and other menial employments, was performed by the youngest clerk or apprentice. I remember easing my burden, by shifting a heavy piece of broad-cloth from my shoulders to a cannon used as a post, at the corner of the street, on State street, opposite to where I was afterwards in business for 22 years with my cousin, Charles Stoddard, of the firm of Edwards & Stoddard, in the importing of French and China silks.

In 1818, I was the oldest apprentice with my Uncle Lewis, and the general superintendence of the whole interior duties pertaining to the concern devolved upon me, entailing considerable responsibility. I was

at that time studying French under a master, and devoted every leisure moment to it, late at night and early in the morning. This brought on a pressure of blood to the brain, and I was for a period in the hands of my uncle's physician. He ordered my custom-house duties suspended, and suggested my going into the country to rest. My mother and her eight younger children were then living at Catskill, N. Y., and finding a small grain vessel at Boston bound for that place, I took passage in her round Cape Cod to New York, and up the Hudson River. We were three weeks on the way, and several days on the river, going on shore for milk and other necessities daily. This was in the spring of 1818. I had been in New York the year before, and my brother William and myself had combined to deal in old bale rope and bale canvas, the purchases being made by me in Boston and shipped to him. He was then in the store of Weyman & Co., at the corner of Pearl street and Maiden Lane, a cloth store. He wrote me that twist buttons for clothing were very scarce and dear there, and suggested that if I could buy them in Boston at usual prices he could sell them for cash at a large profit. I found abundance of them in Boston, and

on mentioning the matter to Uncle Lewis, he authorized me to make the purchases in his name, and I sent to William large lots. We continued this business till we had cleared \$500. Our mother was then at Catskill, living in a small house on the road to Jefferson Village. On leaving Northampton, a creditor of my father's had attached all their furniture, and they reached Catskill entirely destitute of anything wherewith to set up housekeeping. Mr. Orrin Day, who owned a line of sloops running to New York, happened to have a complete set of kitchen furniture stored in one of his lofts at the docks, and through the influence of Rev. Dr. David Porter, he loaned it to our mother. William and myself resolved to make use of our button gains in supplying mother with needed furniture, and I went to New York, where we invested most of the money, I accompanying the goods to Catskill. We took the precaution of having them purchased and shipped in the name of Gideon Lee, of New York, a friend of my father's, for fear of Massachusetts attachments. The letters G. L. were placed upon each article, and at this date, June, 1885, my sister Elizabeth (Rowland) tells me that she has in her kitchen in Brooklyn some of the

identical chairs, with the mark "G. L." still on them.

On reaching Catskill point, I found there my brother Ogden (the third child of our parents) awaiting the arrival of the sloop, and at our mother's we had a joyful meeting. My father was at the time at Hunter, preparing for the building of the tannery. In 1818, he hired a house three or four miles east of the spot at which he was engaged, and soon after my arrival at Catskill the family removed to Hunter, and I passed the summer with them.

I occupied myself in measuring bark brought in by the Hunter people, and other outdoor work about the tannery for the next year, and on returning to Boston, my physician advised me to return to the mountains and continue the same life. This led to my passing two more years at Hunter. Recovering my health, I spent two years with my uncle Arthur Tappan, in New York, in order to regain my knowledge of business; and then, in the spring of 1823, I joined Charles Stoddard in the jobbing business, in Boston. Uncle John Tappan relinquished his French business to us, and provided a capital of \$40,000 for the concern, we to have half we could make, and he the other half for the use

of the money. Our sales were at first largely of China goods, and I frequently visited New York to attend the auctions for purchase of French fabrics, but we gradually went into the importation of these, and the first year our profits were \$10,000. In 1826, I visited Europe, purchasing goods as well in England as in France, and so passed two seasons, when, to my surprise, uncle John wrote me I must remain permanently. Ours was the only strictly silk house in Boston, and our sales increased regularly, our profits averaging about \$10,000 per year for some years. In fourteen years we paid Uncle John \$152,000, besides returning his capital.

In the months of February and July, a vessel usually left Havre for Boston direct, but shipments at other times were made to New York by the monthly packets.

On going to Paris, I had letters of introduction to General Lafayette, who had visited the United States the year previous, and was kindly received by him, and was often at his evening receptions. In March, 1828, I returned to the United States, and passed six months there. On the 4th of September, I married Martha Ann Dorr, daughter of Samuel Dorr, of Boston, and on the 16th of September following, embarked at New

York for Havre, having my eldest sister Rebecca with us.

The grand-daughter of General Lafayette, the three Misses Lafayette, and Madame DeLastery were about the ages of my wife and sister, and they were soon warm friends. The General invited us to visit them at their country seat, at La Grange, some fifteen or twenty miles east of Paris, and accordingly we took a post chaise and passed a night there. In the morning, after breakfast, we were escorted over the premises, General Lafayette having my wife on his arm and I Madame DeLastery. The General was very proud of many presents he had received from the United States, and among other things a pair of Berkshire pigs, which were the admiration of all his neighbors. A tame bear had also been sent him from Missouri, which came from New York by packet, and from Havre to Paris on top of the diligence, to the amusement of the passengers and country people.

During our residence in Paris, the revolution of July, 1830, took place, when Charles X. was dethroned, and Louis Phillipe, Duke of Orleans, was made King of France. General Lafayette was nominated to the command of the Garde National, and was

conspicuous in the councils of the new government. The Duchess of Orleans requested him to present to her the ladies of the United States, and he arranged for the gathering at the Palais Royal, the residence of the Orleans family, on an appointed day. Mr. Rives, the American minister, was present to introduce the ladies, and General Lafayette the gentlemen, who accompanied their wives. Myself and Mrs. Edwards, and my sister Rebecca, were of the number. They found the ladies of the court with their embroidery in their hands—which was thrown upon a green table covering—as our party entered, and were presented individually. A result of this call on the Duchess was an invitation to a state ball at the Palais Royal, all the gentlemen to appear in costume. It was the first and only time in my life that I appeared in regulation clothes, with sword and chapeau de bras.

Mr. Henry Edwards ends the memoir abruptly, and shortly after died, 23 September, 1885 (Aet. 87).

Ogden E., the third son, was born in 1802. He lived in New York, beginning as junior clerk with Jacob Lorillard, in the leather business, in "The Swamp," reaching a

partnership, and finally succeeding to the business. He was interested in several tanneries in Greene and Ulster Counties. In 1827, he married Miss Catherine Shepherd, daughter of Thomas Shepherd, of Northampton, Mass. They lived in Clinton Place, Eighth Street, where Mrs. Edwards died, in 1843. He died at Lexington, Greene Co., in 1848, in his 46th year. Mr. Edwards, like all the brothers, was an energetic business man. He was a most genial companion, and had hosts of friends.

Alfred, the fourth son, was born in 1804, and most of his life was passed in New York. He entered the store of his uncle, Arthur Tappan, when quite young, and eventually became a partner, and succeeded that firm, which was then known as Alfred Edwards & Co. In 1831, he married Sophia Matilda, daughter of Zachariah Lewis, of New York and Brooklyn. For many years he resided on Brooklyn Heights, later in New York. He was a member, while in New York, of Dr. Jas. W. Alexander's, later Dr. Hall's, church, and was a man of marked benevolence of character, as well as of extreme amiability. He was greatly interested in the Home for the Friendless, and every Sunday, for years, conducted a class for the benefit

of the children there. He died in 1882, in his 78th year.

Amory, the ninth child, and fifth son, was born in 1814 ; was brought up by his brother Ogden in the leather business. When quite young, he was sent by Howland and Aspinwall to Buenos Ayres, as supercargo, and this resulted in his living in that city, where, for half a dozen years, he was the United States Consul. In 1845, he returned to the States, and the following year was spent, in company with his nephew, William H. Edwards, in the Province of Para, Brazil, and on the Amazon, the results of which were embodied in a book entitled "A Voyage up the River Amazon," published by D. Appleton & Co., 1847. Soon after his return, he became a member of the firm of Alfred Edwards & Co. Later, he filled several offices of trust. He died at his home, at Elizabeth, N. J., October 22, 1881, in his 67th year. In 1855, Mr. Edwards married Sophia M. Jones, of Fairfield, Conn., who died in 1876. He was a remarkably fine looking man, and of a winning address, and of great amiability. His passion was floriculture, and wherever he lived, there came to be an abundance of rare and beautiful flowers.

The eldest daughter, Rebecca Tappan, was born in 1808; was educated at Northampton and at New Haven, married Benjamin Curtis, merchant at New York and Paris, in 1830. She was visiting her brother Henry, at Paris, at the time, and General Lafayette gave her away, *in loco parentis*. She died, 22nd of July, 1844. As a young woman Mrs. Curtis was strikingly handsome, tall, with black hair, blue eyes, and a rich color in her cheeks. I give some notes respecting her written by her sister Elizabeth.

“My sister Rebecca had gone to Paris, in 1828, with my brother Henry and his young wife. We parted from her at my brother Ogden’s house, 18 Varick street, New York. Mother’s last charge to Henry was not to let Rebecca marry a Frenchman. ‘No,’ he replied, ‘there is but one man in Paris whom I would be willing she should marry, and that is my friend, Benjamin Curtis.’ The day they sailed from New York, Mr. Curtis sailed from Havre, but returned to Paris unmarried. He admired Rebecca, and the end was that they were married on the 2nd of September, 1830. Mr. and Mrs. Curtis returned to New York in 1832, and he bought a house in Colonade Row, Lafayette Place, the third house in the row from the

south. In the fall of 1836, Rebecca was advised by her physician to go to Paris on account of her health. Mr. Curtis could not leave his business in New York, and proposed my going with his wife, my parents to keep house for him in her absence. We sailed, November 1st, with Captain Funk, and were twenty-six days out; returning with same Captain, the next May. In 1844, Mr. Curtis, being in Paris, having decided to remain there for a time, wished his wife to join him. She embarked with Captain Funk, but died just before the ship reached Havre, and was buried in that city. Years after, my husband and children encouraged me to have the dearest wish of my heart gratified, and Rebecca's remains were brought to this country, and now lie in Oak Lawn Cemetery, at Fairfield, Connecticut."

Sarah Homes, the second daughter, was born in 1810; resided at Hunter in her young days. She spent some time in Paris with her sister Rebecca. After her return, she lived again at Hunter, and was married there to Rev. John Nitchie Lewis, in 1834. She lived at Southampton, Long Island, the last years, with her daughters, and died in 1895, in her 85th year. She was a woman

of great energy and force of character, and influenced for good all who came in contact with her. Mr. Lewis died in 1861.

Ann Maria, the third daughter, was born in 1812. She was a pupil of Miss Catherine Beecher, at Hartford, Conn., one of her teachers being Harriet Beecher, afterwards Mrs. Stowe. On September 21, 1836, she was married, at her father's house, in Hunter, to Professor Edwards A. Park, D. D., of Andover Theological Seminary, and during her married life she resided at Andover (Mass.). Their golden wedding was celebrated there in 1886. She died, 7th October, 1893, in her 81st year. "Placed in a situation of considerable prominence, her quiet dignity, native refinement, sound judgment, and rare executive ability, readily enabled her to meet its demands." Like her brother Amory, she was devoted to flowers, and her garden, at Andover, was beautiful.

Elizabeth Tappan, the fourth daughter, was born in 1816. Her early years were spent at Hunter, and later she lived with her parents in New York and Brooklyn. In 1847, she married Henry Rowland, of New York. Her death took place in 1887, in her 71st year. Mr. Rowland had died shortly before, in 1884. Like her sisters

and brothers, Mrs. Rowland had inherited the strong character of her father; and wherever she lived, she exerted a powerful influence for the right.

The youngest son, Richard Cunningham, is still living (1897). He was born at Hunter, in 1819; was partner in the house of Alfred Edwards & Co. In 1849, he married his cousin, Mary S. Williams, who also is still living.

Thus ten noble sons and daughters grew to maturity from that stock, and nearly all attained a good old age. An eleventh child, Elizabeth, born in 1806, had died the next year.



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